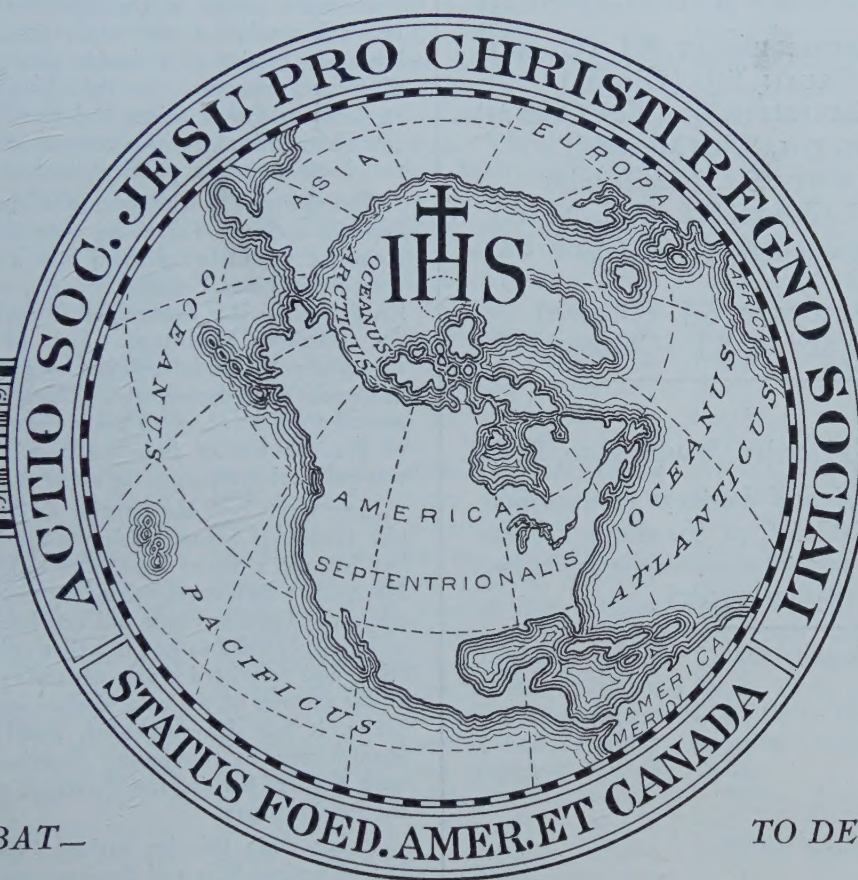


INFORMATIONES ET NOTITIAE

INFORMATION ON COMMUNISM AND INTERNATIONAL ATHEISM



TO COMBAT—

Atheism
Communism
Unholy Greed

TO DEFEND—

Divine Truth
The Christian State
The Charity of Christ

Informationes et Notitiae

NEWS BULLETIN

on

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EDITORIAL

THE UNITED FRONT

This issue and the last of INFORMATIONES ET NOTITIAE have striven particularly to bring before our readers the activities of what is called the United, or Popular, Front. This new movement has created an entirely new problem for anyone interested in checking the advance of Communism.

The essence of the movement is, to use the expression of its Bulgarian inventor, the policy of the Trojan Horse. Having despaired of succeeding in directly creating powerful Communist parties in the countries of the world, the Comintern has taken a new tack, somewhat similar to the old boring-in tactics of a decade ago. There is this important difference, however. In the old policy, Communists acted expressly as Communists, and merely attempted by ultimate force of numbers, to gain control of social and economic, and to a lesser degree of political, bodies, so as to control them.

The new policy corresponds to the new imperialism of the Stalinite regime. Foreseeing that the advance of the Fascist countries would bring them into a clash with the so-called democratic lands, England, France, and the United States, the Russian politicians determined to exploit this coming struggle for their own advantage. First of all, they set on foot a vigorous propaganda designed to make it appear that Russia had itself gone democratic. Then, the Russo-France alliance must be preserved at all costs. Russia's place in the League of Nations was of immense help. What was still lacking was political sympathies in other countries.

Here was where the Popular Front came in. In Spain, the idea succeeded beyond their wildest dreams; that country all but became a Soviet land, and would be today but for the Nationalist movement headed by General Franco. In France, while the Popular Front did not bring about a revolution, it at least succeeded in keeping that country within the Russian orbit, and permitted a vast expansion of Communism, mostly at the expense of the other Left-wing parties. In the United States, it has also succeeded, mostly with the help of the Spanish war, in convincing Americans that our destiny lies with France, Russia, and England, against the aggression of the Fascist States.

It has done this by various "splinter groups," like the League against War and Fascism, now the League for Democracy and Peace; and by the obvious sympathies which its policies have aroused in newspaper circles, even on sheets that are called conservative, like the *New York Times* and *Herald-Tribune*. On the other hand, it has had several setbacks. The expulsion of Eden in England, Chamberlain's treaty with Italy, the fall of Blum in France, and a whole new policy looking to a Four-Power pact which would exclude Russia, all these have left the American dupes of the Popular Front looking rather silly. But if in the international sphere, the United Front has lost ground, it is still gaining here at home, as this issue is intended to show.

WILFRID PARSONS, S.J.



Part I

Home Survey



The Popular Front in the U. S.: A Survey

By LAWRENCE KENT PATTERSON, S.J.

THE origin of the Popular Front, as is well known, dates from the Seventh International Congress of the Komintern, held in Moscow during the summer of 1934. It meant, of course, a radical change, not in the fundamental objectives of Communism but in the strategy and tactics adopted in their pursuit. The "Party Line" varies as conditions change. Lenin himself stressed the need of "zig-zag" tactics. The "N. E. P." of 1921 was a frank reversal of certain previous policies.

Dimitrov, the Bulgarian President of the Komintern, outlined the strategy and tactics of the Popular Front to the assembled comrades in 1934. Strive to conclude "working alliances" with Socialists and even with "bourgeois" radical parties; "bore from within"; "capitalize every grievance"; shun provocative language regarding religion; do not affront patriotic sentiment, but seek to utilize it in your propaganda; these are the high spots of his program.

The Popular Front clicked in Spain during 1934 and 1935. It led to the electoral victory of the Leftist alliance in February, 1936, and led Spain to the brink of a profound social revolution. It seems clear that only the rising of Franco prevented the story of 1917 in Russia from being repeated in Spain.

In France, Blum carried the elections in May, 1936, as the leader of a Popular Front, composed of Radicals, Socialists, and Communists. France still sways beneath the menace of Communism. The policy of *la main tendue* became the program of French Communists. "We stretch out our hand to you, Catholic workers!" exclaims *l'Humanité*. Thorez, the French Browder, has launched stirring appeals to Catholic toilers "to drop religious differences," "to join with the Communist brethren in their common

struggle against war and Fascism, for peace and social justice." French Communists loudly protest their devotion to "religious liberty," laud the "heroes" of the "great Revolution," whose culmination they claim to be *Les Soviets partout*. "True popular democracy" is now their watchword. Anti-militarism is muted. The army of the Third Republic is a worthy ally of the "great Red Army" of Russia, bulwarks alike of peace against "Fascist tyranny." In our own land, "United Front" tactics have been employed with astute skill since 1934:

First. "Capitalize every grievance." The *New Masses*, the *Sunday Worker*, the *Daily Worker*, and other Communist organs abound in appeals to discontented groups. The Negro especially is the object of such propaganda. But Father LaFarge has handled this question in our previous issue, so it is omitted here. Slum conditions, the plight of the share croppers, insanitary conditions in factories and mills, the survival of child labor in certain backward states; these are but some of the grievances which the Communist press exploits. Russia is depicted in falsely brilliant colors, and painted as a contrast to our decadent capitalistic system. Lyons, Gide, Eastman, Beal, and other disillusioned witnesses to the true condition of Russia under its "Red Czar," Stalin, are discounted and abused as "Trotskyites." As for Chamberlin, he is a "Fascist" par excellence.

Second. Propaganda in the public schools has risen to alarming proportions in New York City and elsewhere. Clever boys and girls are inoculated with Bolshevistic doctrine, especially in the high schools. The Young Pioneers sometimes form "cells" in the schools, which spread the gospel of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin in open or veiled form. Teachers sometimes aid and abet these activities. Catholic and

non-Catholic teachers view the rising Red penetration of the schools with alarm, but the authorities in New York seem unwilling to take strong and effective action against it. It is permitted in the name of "academic freedom."

Third. The Communists strive to "bore from within" in youth movements. The American Student Union is one especial object of their zeal. Its convention, held at Vassar in December last, was largely dominated by Communistic or semi-Communistic leaders. Peace organizations are also often penetrated by Communistic agents.

Fourth. The American Civil Liberties Union (A. C. L. U.) is not an avowedly Communistic organization. But it is largely the victim and an ideal tool of Popular Front tactics. Ready to defend Communistic agitators without discrimination; eager to denounce (and rightly) anti-Semitism, loud in its condemnation of Hitlerism, the A. C. L. U. never protests against the tyranny of Stalin in Russia, or the slaughter of priests and religious in Spain.

Fifth. The League Against War and Fascism has been an even more manifest agent of the Popular Front in the United States. It recently changed its name to League for Democracy and Peace. This League constantly clamors for a boycott of the "democracies" against "Fascist aggressors," and champions the U. S. S. R. as a "bulwark of peace."

Sixth. The Popular Front is in reality a tool of the Kremlin in regard to foreign policy. In France, it seeks to link the Third Republic finally and irrevocably to the Soviet Alliance. In the United States, Communist pacifism and anti-militarism is now "piped down." Constant calls for collective action against "Fascist aggressors," appeals for a quarantine of Fascist na-

tions, demands for a boycott against Japan, fill the pages of Communist organs. Earl Browder has written several lengthy articles in the *New Masses*, expounding the maxims of Litvinov on collective security and indivisible peace. To put it bluntly, Browder is an agent of the Kremlin. He seeks to embroil us with Japan in the name of collective security. Litvinov and Stalin wish for the support of this country, of Great Britain, and of France, against the Rome-Berlin-Tokio axis.

Seventh. Yet Stalin himself proclaimed on February 14 last that he still champions world revolution. "We must also increase and strengthen international proletarian ties of the working class of the U. S. S. R. with the working class of bourgeois countries. *Support of our revolution by the workers of all countries is a necessary guarantee from attempts at intervention.*"

The *New York Post* (no "reactionary organ") was roused to action by this statement of Stalin. In an editorial (Feb. 15, 1938), "Stalin Tears Off His Mask," it declared: "To talk of a united front for democracy with men plotting a dictatorship of the proletariat is to talk nonsense." "There can be no united front for democracy with the enemies of democracy." "Liberals who accept the aid of Communists accept the aid of those who want to destroy liberalism."

Eighth. The American Communistic leaders now mask the atheism which is an integral part of their system. Earl Browder has discoursed at the Union Theological Seminary in New York, depicting Communism as a movement for economic justice and political freedom. True, he has written: "We regard all religions as bad for the masses," but at present he and his followers pose as champions of religious liberty. In a pamphlet issued by the Communistic State Committee of New York are found citations from the Papal Encyclicals denouncing the abuses of Capitalism and the tyranny of the Nazi regime. "We [i. e., Communists] stand for political and religious freedom *everywhere*." The pamphlet urges Catholic workers to join the Communistic workers in fighting for the "Pope's program."

Ninth. Space does not permit any account of the Communist activities in labor unions, especially in the C. I. O. Their agents are active and trained, and their influence is growing.

The Popular Front is a well-directed movement. It knows its objectives, and is tireless and skillful in pursuing them. We need organization and di-

rection to meet its menace. Mere "negativism," and still less blind "reaction," will not check it. A fearless and skillful preaching of the Encyclicals, an application of their principles *to concrete problems*, is a vital need. Hitherto American labor has not been anti-clerical. But we must bestir ourselves to hold the Catholic toilers firm in their allegiance to the Faith, and to convince all the laboring masses, Catholic and non-Catholic, that the Church is their champion and friend. The alienation of the proletariat from the Church was one main reason for the Spanish tragedy, and the present French crisis. The American Church must act to prevent a similar situation in our nation, and it must act *NOW!*

CAPITALIZING WASHINGTON

(An article in the *Sunday Worker*, Feb. 20, 1938, by PAUL CROSBIE, "He Led a People's Army," gives an example of Communistic tactics.)

In the foreground of that great revolutionary struggle for life, liberty and happiness that marks the beginning of the history of the United States of America stands the heroic figure of George Washington—heroic in stature (six feet four inches) as well as in leadership. In an earlier day, Parson Weems with his goody-goody stories did much to obscure the nature of the man who led ragged colonials first against the Indians and later against the British. But the greatest distorters have been the D. A. R. and the Tories of today who have cast the hero of Valley Forge in the role of the great aristocrat and the father of the policy of American isolation.

Washington was an aristocrat, a large landed proprietor, an owner of slaves, but these facts must not be permitted to dim the fact that it was his revolutionary fervor that gives him a high place in man's struggle for a better life. Karl Marx in the resolution adopted by the British Workmen's Alliance designated the war of 1776 as a struggle to free the middle class from the domination of feudalism. At the beginning, George Washington sided with the established order, the lawful government of King George III, but a reading of Thomas Paine's "Common Sense" convinced him that the well-being even of such landed proprietors as he was threatened by the increasing demands of the British ruling class. Once won to the cause of revolution, he was single-hearted during its duration. Hearst and the Tories of 1938 quote his warning against entangling alliances as an injunction against the people of the United States having any part in

world affairs. But Washington himself was no isolationist.

The great democrat, Thomas Jefferson, pointed that out in recording a conversation he had with Washington December 27, 1792.

"... he observed to me," Jefferson wrote, "that he thought it was time to endeavor to effect a stricter connection with France. He went into the circumstances of dissatisfaction between Spain and Great Britain and us, and observed there was no nation on whom we could rely, at all times, but France. (I was very much pleased with the tone of this observation. It was the very doctrine which had been my polar star. . . .)"

When he was at the head of the revolutionary forces he sent Benjamin Franklin to France in a successful mission for aid, and to the end of his term of office as President of the United States, he was alert to safeguard the interests of the infant country by utilizing the conflicting interests of the European powers.

It is of utmost importance for the progressives of today to remember that the army of 1776 was a people's army. The comfortable burghers of New York, Boston and Philadelphia were mostly Tories. They were supporters of the "law and order" of the King. They raised against Washington the cry of "Atheist," "subverter of order," "rabble rouser," etc., cries that were shouted in the House of Commons, the same cries that today are shouted by the same people against the labor movement and even against President Roosevelt.

It was the people, the farmers, artisans and laborers, supported by the intellectuals of the day, the Paines, Franklins, Adams, etc., who furnished the material from which Washington had to build his army. That he was a dynamic leader is proved by history. Out of similar materials as those from which the army of Loyalist Spain is built, he built the army that drove the forces of proud England into the sea. But just as the army of Spain has had the help of loyal volunteers from foreign lands, so did the army of Washington.

Lovers of liberty from every land in Europe offered their services. It was the genius of Baron von Steuben who brought discipline and order into the motley forces of irregulars. It is his genius that today is the foundation of the American military establishment. From far off Poland came Kosciusko and a group of supporters, from France Lafayette and a large contingent. Just as in Spain today, the International Brigade of 1776 represented every land.

An outstanding feature of the day was the successful fight for unity. In this Washington had the assistance of orators like Patrick Henry, of leaders and diplomats like Franklin and the greatest pamphleteer and slogan writer Thomas Paine. Many of these slogans still ring in the land, especially on the picket line: "In union there is strength," "United we stand, divided we fall."

In the difficult task of achieving unity, Washington was opposed not only in words but in deeds. The Conway cabal was a "Liberty League" plot against him, and the treason of Benedict Arnold a blow at the heart of the people. Behind the lines the big merchants and bankers profited at the expense of the people, and after the war lost no time in consolidating their gains, ably assisted by that enemy of the people, Alexander Hamilton.

That after the war, Washington fell increasingly under the spell of Hamilton and his Tory friends, that he turned against the demands of his soldiers for land while at the same time accepting for himself large grants from the public domain does not obscure the fact that in a great historic epoch he organized, disciplined and led the forces of progress. The title of "Father of His Country" was rightfully won and fittingly bestowed by a grateful citizenry.

POPULAR FRONT AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY

ROBERT A. GRAHAM, S.J. (in
America, Nov. 27, 1937)

Earl Browder, in his book *What Is Communism?* gives us a sample platform of a Popular Front party. It is a program "closely connected with the class struggle," and exhibits the same amount of demagoguery as the platform on which he ran as Communist candidate for President in 1936. In this matter at least, the Communist believes in being "all things to all men." In addition, since this is an alliance based on pure expediency for all concerned (how else can you get Methodists and Atheists together?), the appeal must be made on immediate issues.

For the present, therefore, the political activities of the Communist party are guided by the following norms laid down in the resolution of the Central Committee: (1) The Communist party must make a common front with all Left forces to defeat the reactionaries and to strengthen the progressive forces within the Democratic party. (2) "In such cases where the progressive forces succeed in nominating progressive candidates and determining their platforms, the

Communists will support such candidates in the election." (3) "Where the progressive candidates are defeated in the primaries every effort must be made to secure independent candidates backed by the same forces, failing which the Communist party may put up its own candidates, giving consideration as to what will be most advantageous for the further development of the People's Front."

Earl Browder declared that the Communists would withdraw their candidates in favor of the American Labor party's nominees in the last New York municipal elections, and would observe United Front discipline to bring about the victory of the American Labor party. An exception was made in the case of the councilmanic elections where this would not constitute any opposition apparently to the American Labor party.

In other parts of the United States we find Communists allying themselves with progressive elements for the purpose of bringing about the defeat of the old line conservatives. Singled out as a special field for Communist Popular Front activities is the C. I. O.'s political auxiliary, Labor's Non-Partisan League. Washington's Commonwealth Federation has had the approval and support of the Communist party from the very beginning. In California, in October, the Communist press reported with approval the meeting called together in Fresno by the California Committee of One Hundred for Political Unity. The purpose of the meeting was to call together the "liberals and progressives of all schools, and all sects, and all parties to unite for further action."

It may occasion some surprise to know that the Farmer-Labor party in Minnesota does not fit into the Popular Front scheme. Possibly that may be due to too much Trotskyite anti-Popular Front influence exercised in that region. At any rate, Browder has seen fit to describe it as an "appendage to existing bourgeois parties." In the Communist mind, no good can come out of the Cooperative Commonwealth.

The possibility that Catholics in this country may soon have to make a choice of joining the Popular Front movement is thought-provoking. A recent Communist writer complains bitterly over the refusal of the German Catholics to back the Popular Front movement in that country. In the Popular Front phraseology of the writer, this constitutes "opposition to the unification of all the democratic anti-Fascist and non-Fascist forces." Particular resentment is leveled against the refugee circles gathered around the publication *Der Deutsche Weg*. These

groups have advocated the formation of a "third front," rather than ally themselves with either Hitler or the Communists. In the minds of the German Catholics, the aims of the Popular Front are dangerous in principle because based not so much on common *ideals* as on common *sentiments*. This is an apt and pointed distinction, which is equally as valid in this country as it is in Germany.

Popular Front in Youth Organizations

(From *Wisdom*, Feb. 1, 1938)

Communist and Marxist leaders in the United States appear encouraged by their recent successes in penetrating the youth movements in America, especially in our colleges. They call attention to their defeat of certain "anti-socialist" leaders in the first American Youth Congress, held more than three years ago and date much of their progress among youth in the U. S. A. from that time. They point with satisfaction to the activity of the "Christian Youth Building a New World" organization uniting the youth of seventy-two Protestant denominations which they claim is drifting steadily toward the reds' "united front," and even boast that certain Catholic and Boy Scout organizations are finally beginning to cooperate with them.

Now that they have succeeded in routing many youth organizations toward the left, the red leaders this year are preparing to take advantage of their advances to do more effective work among the youth organizations for the world-wide Communist movement.

In order to do this they propose to move in certain definite directions, and their strategy centers around the building up of the Communist element among youth by increasing the membership of the Young Communist League which, they admit, has not grown as rapidly as the united youth movement in general, but is one which presents fine agitational possibilities for the near future.

Class consciousness among youth has not yet been fully developed, they claim, but the red leaders hope to develop a more homogeneous mass among the young people of America. In order to point out what they call the common problems of youth presented by the "hated capitalist system" they propose to pay more attention to particular conditions which apply to each stratum of society until all of them can be massed into one common anti-capitalist organization.

The economic revival which fur-

nished new jobs for youth as well as their elders, was an admitted handicap to the spreading of the doctrine of class hatred because Communism spreads best in non-Communist countries when the people are hungry, cold and out of jobs. The red leaders therefore are admittedly encouraged by the more recent business recession which they charge promised to increase unemployment considerably during the winter months. They point to the fact also that despite the recovery in 1935 and 1936 from four million to five million youth remained jobless, and these, it has been considered, form the best basis for communistic penetration. They quote with satisfaction a recent statement by the director of the National Youth Administration, that many of the youth now out of jobs may never find employment again.

Special attack is being planned against the C.C.C. camps which the reds themselves regard as one of the greatest sources of danger to the spreading of the red movement among youth. They complain that in many instances the C.C.C. camps are under the control of regular army officers who teach patriotism and sound Americanism and have little sympathy with the communist doctrines, and they complain too that many camp commanders have gone so far as to suppress red publications which have been circulated around the camps.

The Communist agents, therefore, during the coming year hope to pay more special attention to the C.C.C. camps in an effort to penetrate the "rank and file" of the youth with communist doctrine or to discredit in some way or other the anti-red control and influence of camps wherever this can be found and undermined.

Although they express satisfaction that some Catholic youth organizations seem to be "veering to the left" where they can possibly be made part of a "united front movement," they admit that the progress here is necessarily slow because of the inherent antipathy of the Catholic Church to Communism. "The Catholic Church," one of the communist youth leaders said recently, "and its parochial schools wield their harmful influence and the recent tirades of the Pope against Communism are undoubtedly poisoning the minds of these youth."

An example of activity on this line was reported by the New York "Times" on March 25, 1938:

Protests against the bombing of Barcelona, the threat of Fascism and Japanese aggression in China were staged by near 8,000 college and high school students in behalf of "peace

and democracy" on various campuses of New York on March 24.

The American Student Union arranged the emergency peace demonstration with a view primarily to lifting the Spanish embargo and to urging the United States to join with other democratic nations to "stop Fascism." Students from Columbia University, New York University, Hunter College, Brooklyn College and City College took part.

From 11 a. m. to 1.30 p. m. the students left classes and gathered near their institutions to hear members of Congress, veterans of the Spanish Loyalist forces, faculty members and fellow-students.

After the close of the city schools nearly 600 high school students formed picket lines before the Japanese, German and Italian consulates, shouting and demanding an end to "Fascist aggression." The police kept the lines moving and no untoward incidents occurred.

Only at City College and at Brooklyn College did numerically small opposition groups appear. At Columbia University a bloc of hecklers ridiculed speakers with catcalls and ironic comments. At City College close to 2,000 students marched to the Lewisohn Stadium. Another group of 40 or 50 boys, identified by the main body as "Trotskyites," carried posters such as "Down with collective security." They were barred from the field.

A similar opposition wing formed at Brooklyn College. Reputed to represent the Young Workers League, 50 students picketed the mass meeting of 2,500.

One of the most enthusiastic meetings took place in Madison Square near Twenty-third Street, where more than 1,000 students from City and Hunter Colleges arrived at 11 a. m. at a speakers' platform. The chairman, Sam Sadin, conducted the meeting. Speeches were frequently interrupted with college yells, and sing-song slogans were reiterated.

Thirty uniformed patrolmen under Captain James Nolan, of the East Twenty-second Street station, had little to do except keep the crowd from overflowing into adjoining streets. Robert Thompson, commander of the Canadian forces in Spain, brought greetings from the Loyalists and urged the end of the Spanish embargo.

An estimated group of 500 girls, many wearing nurses' uniforms and white caps, marching from Hunter College, arrived about noon, filling the west side of Madison Avenue between Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Streets. The arrival of this contingent brought three rousing cheers of "Yea,

Hunter!" from the boys. The girls responded in kind, shouting "Yea, City College!"

Then began a series of chants. Giving evidence of the influence of spring, the slogans had a poetic tinge. For example, "collective action beats reaction," "Peace for students and professors—quarantine the aggressors," and the favorite of the crowd, "Isolation means war, collective action means peace," ran through the air.

Especial emphasis was placed on Japan's invasion of China. The students were exhorted to shun silk stockings and to wear lisle. One of the students, Anita Letucci, implored the boys to boycott girls who wear silk.

So friendly and peaceful was the mood of the day that even the blue-coated patrolmen came in for a share of recognition. "Come on, let's give the cops three cheers," some one shouted. There followed "Yea, police," three times.

"Bah," one of the policemen said with disgust, "they have turned into a Sunday school singing club now. I can remember when things were different."

Representatives Jerry J. O'Connell, of Montana, and Byron N. Scott, of California, addressed various groups. Mr. O'Connell spoke at City College, Columbia University and the Hunter and the City College meeting at Madison Square Park. He asked that the United States take an active interest in preserving world peace.

At the New York University rally in Washington Square Park Mr. Scott urged that the arms embargo on Spain be lifted. Adolf Hitler was burned in effigy amid cheers of "Down with Hitler and Fascism" and "Make Spain the Tomb of Fascism."

The College Teachers Union endorsed the emergency peace demonstration, declaring that it considered this action "most heartening."

Popular Front and Labor

That this policy is bearing fruit in the ranks of labor was shown by the fact that William Z. Foster, national chairman of the Communist Party, reported a gain of 22,000 members at a meeting of a group, entitled: "The National Party Builders Congress." Each delegate is an "outstanding recruiter" in the efforts of the Communist Party to transform itself into "a broad mass political organization," it was explained.

The four-day conference ended with a mass meeting in Madison Square Garden, at which Mr. Foster and Earl Brower, general secretary of the Communist Party, were speakers. Nearly

20,000 persons attended the mass meeting.

Half the new members were from labor unions of the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O., Mr. Foster explained. At least a third are women, he added. New Negro members represent 15 per cent of the total, he said.

This brought an immediate reaction: Assailing the activities of Communists in labor unions as destructive and declaring communist propaganda to be as dangerous as that of Nazism and Fascism, Homer Martin, president of the United Automobile Workers, second largest C.I.O. affiliate, with an estimated membership of 400,000, called for the elimination of Communist leadership and influence in labor organizations as essential to union preservation.

Mr. Martin declared in an interview that "the issue of Communists and communism in the trade unions will be fought out to a finish," and that the question of barring them from holding office in the United Automobile Workers or serving as delegates to conventions may be brought up for consideration at his union's convention in 1939.

Popular Front and Peace

Persons sincerely interested in peace and justice are urged to examine carefully proposals to revise the Neutrality Act in a statement at Washington by Edward J. Heffron, executive secretary of the National Council of Catholic Men.

Mr. Heffron instanced one bill in Congress which, he charged, was designed to permit the giving of assistance to the Leftists in Spain, while denying the extension of similar aid to the Nationalists. He urged those opposed to the proposed legislation to make representations to their Congressmen.

"Certain groups of people in this country," Mr. Heffron said, "are seeking to bring pressure to bear on Congress to amend our neutrality legislation, and it behooves anyone sincerely interested in peace and justice to examine the matter very carefully.

"The North American Committee to aid Spanish Democracy is calling for 'lifting of the embargo on Loyalist Spain and the placing of an embargo on Germany and Italy,' and is urging people to send resolutions, telegrams, and letters to President Roosevelt, Secretary Hull, and the members of Congress; to organize local demonstrations; and to send 'delegations to visit Congressmen and Senators,' to this end. The American League for Peace and Democracy is circulating petitions calling for open congressional hearings on the amendments to the Neu-

trality Law proposed by Congressmen O'Connell, Biermann, Scott, and Lewis.

"The North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy is openly partisan to the Barcelona regime in Spain, which is responsible for the murder of thousands of priests and the destruction of hundreds of churches, and which still proscribes the public exercise of religion throughout its territory.

"The American League for Peace and Democracy was until recently known as the American League Against War and Fascism. In his thoroughly documented study of the League, Hillman M. Bishop, of the College of the City of New York, says that it was 'initiated in 1933 by the Communist Party and from the beginning identified with the "Social Fascism," "dual union," and "united front from below" policy of the Communist Party.' It is of especial interest to Catholics that the national chairman of the League is the selfsame Dr. Harry F. Ward who in 1936 issued an attack, in the name of the Methodist Federation for Social Service, on the Vatican's campaign against Communism."

John Dewey Repudiates Stalin

The Moscow "purges" have been a serious menace to Popular Front tactics. Dr. John Dewey, the well-known Radical, took the lead in denouncing them.

He spoke over the Columbia Broadcasting System. "If we do not insist upon putting truth and justice first, the liberal movement is doomed," he said. He assailed Communist propagandists for denouncing as "Trotsky stooges" and Fascists all those who do not accept the Stalinist doctrine, and he warned liberals who give aid and comfort to such propagandists that they were helping to undermine the causes of liberty and democracy in this country.

Commenting briefly upon attacks made upon the inquiry commission, Dr. Dewey declared none of its members were Trotskyists or connected in any way with Mr. Trotsky's theories or activities. He insisted that the lessons to be derived from Soviet Russia, as emphasized by the commission's study, were that Soviet methods could not solve America's problems and that "a country that uses all the methods of fascism to suppress opposition can hardly be held up to us as a democracy, as a model to follow against fascism."

Dr. Dewey read a message received from Leon Trotsky in Mexico City declaring that "the commission served the liberating struggle of all mankind" and

that "its verdict has an immeasurable political importance."

Corliss Lamont, chairman of the Friends of the Soviet Union, avowed defender of the Stalin government, followed Dr. Dewey with a reply in which he defended the verdicts in the Moscow trials as just and extolled the achievements of the Soviet regime under Stalin.

The message from Trotsky read by Dr. Dewey said:

"The commission condemned nobody to death or to prison. Yet it is impossible to imagine a more terrible verdict. The commission says to the rulers of a great country, 'You committed a frame-up for the purpose of justifying the extermination of your political adversaries. You tried to deceive the toilers of the world. You are unworthy to serve the cause which you invoke.' The commission which includes people of different political views could not follow our political aims. But its verdict has an immeasurable political importance. The methods of lying and blundering frame-ups which contaminate the inner life of the U. S. S. R. and the workers' movement of the whole world received today a terrible blow. Let the official friends of the U. S. S. R. and other pseudo-radical bigots say that the verdict will be used by reaction. This is untrue. Nowhere and never did the truth serve the cause of reaction."

After recapitulating the findings of the commission, Dr. Dewey continued:

"There is a question which is constantly asked. What of it? What difference does it make to us here in the United States? I want to tell you why the Moscow trials and our inquiry have a claim upon the attention of every American citizen, especially those who call themselves progressives, liberals or who are interested in labor. I want to tell you why the Russian situation as it is illustrated in the Moscow frame-ups and the blood purges reported almost daily in the columns of the press, are living events in the consequences of which the American people and our democracy is involved."

Dr. Dewey said Stalinist propaganda in Spain, using the Moscow verdicts as a lever, had succeeded in branding Trotskyists and other dissidents as "Fascists" and that as a consequence anti-Fascist unity in Spain had been weakened and the cause of Spanish democracy grievously injured. Similarly, he said, Communist propagandists in this country were seeking to tie up opponents of the Stalin regime with Trotskyism and fascism, thus carrying dissension and disruption into the labor movement.

"You will say Spain is Spain and America is America," Dr. Dewey went on. "But the same tactics are repeated here and the same issue is being forced upon us. Members of the commission can stand it personally when they are denounced as Trotskyites and therefore allies, willing or deluded ones, of fascism, simply because they gave their time and energy without recompense to finding out the truth. But the tactics have invaded the forces of labor and are dividing it. Only the other day a trade union official was murdered in Minneapolis, which is certainly an American city.

"Already Communists and their sympathizers are asking us to believe that because Moscow courts held Trotsky guilty of conspiring with Hitler and Japan, therefore Minneapolis workers friendly to Trotsky assassinated Corcoran. When unionists who are not in any way connected with Trotsky ridiculed the charge, they were at once denounced as Trotskyite stooges. This is a fresh example of the way what went on in Russia is used to disrupt the ranks of labor in this country. It won't be the last time. American labor and progressive groups are going to be asked over and over again to decide local questions on the basis of charges against Trotsky and Trotskyites in Moscow.

"The issue of war and peace for our country is also involved. We are told by sympathizers of the Soviet Union that if she is attacked by Fascist countries we must come to her rescue and fight on her side in order to save democratic nations from the spread of fascism. Remember how we got into the last war in order to make the world safe for democracy and you will not dismiss this organized propaganda with a laugh. The Fascist nations today are a greater threat to democracy than was ever the German autocracy against which we fought 20 years ago. In the case of another world conflagration we shall be asked to stand by Russia in the name of democracy. In the light of the danger of war and of our being dragged in, who will say that the truth about the Soviet Union is of no significance to us here in America?

"Again, we have our own serious problems, economic and social, to solve. They weigh heavily upon us. We have to do something about them. What we do about them and how we do it affects the whole future of this country. The revolutionary methods used in Russia are held up to us as a model.

"If the consequences of those methods have been not even a dictatorship of the proletariat but a dictatorship of a small group over the whole country, workers included, and if it

maintains itself in power by suppression of all individual liberties of thought, speech and press, if it suppresses all political opposition to itself and its tactics as a crime against the workers' state (and uses lying, slander and intimidation to bring about this suppression), the conditions in the Soviet Union strikingly illustrated in the Moscow trials and recent blood purges certainly concern Americans who believe in democratic methods.

"A country that uses all the methods of fascism to suppress opposition can hardly be held up to us as a democracy, as a model to follow against fascism.

"Next time anybody says to you that we have to choose between fascism and communism ask him what is the difference between the Hitlerite Gestapo and the Stalinite G. P. U., so that a democracy should have to choose one or the other."

Involved in the Russian situation and the Moscow trials is also "the question of elementary truth, justice and humanity, which certainly are of interest to Americans," Dr. Dewey declared.

"I have disagreed with the ideas and theories of Trotsky and now I disagree, if possible, more than ever," he said. "But as ten years ago, when I joined with other Americans in demanding a fair hearing for Sacco and Vanzetti, with whose ideas I also completely disagreed, the claims of justice and humanity come first. Today some liberals permit supposed political expediency to come before these ends. If we do not insist upon putting truth and justice first, the liberal movement is doomed. I submit to you that the cause of the unity of labor, of peace for our country, of democratic ideals and methods and of plain justice and truth do concern us."

Dr. Dewey announced that a volume of nearly 200 pages would be published soon giving in full the evidence upon which the findings of the inquiry commission rest.

Mr. Lamont discounted the value of the Dewey commission's inquiry saying that the members of the commission "were not present and were unable to interview the 33 chief witnesses" and charged that "the inner purpose of this commission was to whitewash Trotsky." The majority of the commission's members, he said, "were hopelessly prejudiced in favor of him."

"The more I think over the whole matter, the more I become convinced that the Soviet authorities acted in a just and proper manner and that it is Trotsky and his various committees and commissions which have been trying to frame up the Soviet Government

and the Soviet people in the eyes of the world," Mr. Lamont said.

The commission, Mr. Lamont charged, "went far afield from the Moscow trials and makes a general attack not only on the Soviet Government but also on the Communist parties throughout the world.

"Thus it trots out in a slightly new form the old Communist bugaboo, of which the American people and the democratic peoples in general are so sick and tired. Such pronouncements are the chief stock in trade of the fascists and reactionaries, who everywhere use them to justify war, violence and the crushing of democratic liberties."

The Lesson

(Editorial in *America*, Nov. 20, 1937)

There is a lesson to us who live in the comparatively peaceful and happy United States. To turn from the evidence of communistic gains in the United States with a shrug of the shoulders is to court the repetition here of Spain's misfortune. It can happen here, for the simple reason that despite nationalistic differences between Spaniards and Americans, human nature is the same in all countries. Transfer the same vigorous factors which were at work in Spain to the United States, and it is but a question of time when the same results will be recorded.

The simple truth is that in the United States the Communists have a field that could hardly be bettered had it been prepared for them. On one side we must admit the existence of undoubted social and economic evils that seem almost rooted in the social order, as it has developed under the influence of unbridled capitalism. On the other, it is a simple matter of public record that religion plays a very small part in the lives of a majority of our people. Hence, many who suffer from an economic injustice from which they are unable to free themselves are ready to listen to any propagandist, even if he be a Communist, who professes to be able to lead them to freedom.

That within the next few years communism will make great gains in the United States is not merely probable. It is all but certain. Whether communism can be defeated when it moves openly to attack Christianity and American institutions, or whether it will go on to establish, as in Russia and Spain, a reign of terror, depends upon our acceptance of the common-sense policy of resisting evil from the outset. Should we continue to tolerate its inroads, on the easy philosophy that communism in the United States

and communism in Russia aim at different ends, we are courting defeat and ruin.

Catholic Survey Shows Danger Of Popular Front

The appointment in each diocese of a committee of priests to lead, under the bishop's guidance, a program in Catholic social teachings, as the most effective weapon against communism, is recommended in "Communism in the United States," just issued here as a supplementary 1937 report of the Department of Social Action, National Catholic Welfare Conference. The report describes the extent of communism in the United States and its activities.

This report, requested by the 1936 General Meeting of the Bishops of the United States, declares that there is need for the Church to establish a far-reaching program, particularly in those dioceses where there is any considerable number of working people, to strengthen and guide social and economic reforms towards a sound new social order such as is advocated by the Papal Encyclicals, and to keep it from Communist hands and Communist plans.

The report, in pamphlet form with study club outline, has been made available to those who desire it through the N. C. W. C. Publications Office here.

The report states that while numerically the membership of the Communist Party has remained static for the last year or so, the report brings out that the activity of the membership has been greatly intensified, and that, furthermore, numerous dependent organizations strengthen its hand in its efforts to Communize this country.

It lists various organizations with innocuous names which nevertheless are actively promoting Communism. It asserts that "an unbelievably enormous" number of books, pamphlets and other publications is issued by the party, and that the circulation of these publications is far beyond the party membership. In particular it is charged that Communists are boring into so-called cultural activities.

The report charges that the Communist Party seeks deliberately to obstruct approach to social justice, and that it does so to bring people to look to that party as the sole agency to cure economic and social ills. It also obstructs social justice, the report adds, in order to prevent the establishment of a just system which would tolerate private ownership.

"Where the greater danger lies," the report says, "is in the Communist aim to obtain leadership and influence enough so its compact membership can control every reform movement in the United States. That is the idea of the United Front.

"This Communist attitude towards the United Front and reforms needs analysis. While fighting for reforms is used to make friends for the party and Russia and to train the members both in Communist theory and how to lead the masses, two other elements need consideration. One is that the party looks forward to such opposition to the reforms as will convince the working people revolution is necessary. This is implied and dramatized in the anti-Fascist fight. The party, sometimes even now in this period, deliberately, it seems, asks for the impossible so as to argue better that revolution is necessary.

"A second important fact is that the party deliberately asks only for those reforms which will not do enough good and tries to limit and fashion them so they cannot grow, as Pius XI's Encyclical contemplates their growing, into a new and just social order."

The facts, the report continues, "seem to show that the issues will be decided on whether or not an economic and legislative program can be put into effect which will be peaceful and which will progressively build the social order that the Encyclicals advocate." "If the facts of economic life did not prove that the battle is to be waged in this field, the Communist seizure of reform and reformist organizations so as to twist something good into an agency of revolution would of itself indicate the battle lines," the report adds. "The program," it states, "is how to strengthen and guide the whole reform program towards a sound new social order and keep it from Communist hands and Communist plans."

"Even if the party never gets many members in normal times or itself does much directly to foment revolution, this indirect and subtle prevention of peaceful growth into a new order will itself revoke unemployment, social crisis and threats of revolution," the report asserts. "Then great numbers can be expected to look to revolution and common ownership as the sole cure.

"That, more than anything else makes the party so dangerous in a period of an expanding union and legislative movement. It is cumulatively dangerous year by year as time goes

on if the Communist type of 'reformist' policy succeeds. It makes the party members dangerous to unions even as members and more so as officials, dangerous to third party movements, dangerous to the defense of civil rights and democracy, dangerous to the whole drive for economic and social change.

"Deliberately the party is now trying to penetrate every such organization and group. Since Catholics are mostly working people, the Church on this ground, also, is interested."

Stating that the guide for the Church's program is Pope Pius XI's Encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*, the report sets forth its chief aim and adds the following "simple and concrete" suggestions:

"Appointment by the bishops in every diocese of a committee of priests, who by careful preparation can do these things:

"Be at hand to inform and advise with the bishop on facts, movements, organizations and persons.

"Assist other priests, local Catholic papers, schools and retreats as authorized by the bishop.

"Lead under his guidance a program of education in Catholic social teaching among the laity and in the community generally through study clubs, forums, personal contacts, etc.

"The reason for a committee is that the complexity of events and the field to be covered require the counsel of several.

"For preparation and further help the Schools of Social Action for the Clergy inaugurated in the summer of 1937 should be extended. Some priests, too, should be sent to the new School of Social Sciences at the Catholic University for prolonged study.

"For further help and closer relationships, it is recommended that these committees be called Social Action Committees and be affiliated in some fashion with the N. C. W. C. Social Action Department, the details of such affiliation and general program of principles and procedure to be worked out by the Episcopal Chairman of that department subject to approval of the N. C. W. C. Administrative Board.

"These committees of priests will and should draw about them groups of laymen and laywomen consecrated to Catholic social teaching and action. It is recommended that these lay groups be formed into locals of the Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems for coordinated and wiser action."—(*Baltimore Catholic Review*, January 28, 1938.)



Part II

World Survey



Soviet Justice

By GEORGE IENSEN

In "The Sign," July, 1937

THE recent mass trial of the so-called "Trotskyist parallel centre" in Moscow (January 21-30, 1937) may have come as a surprise to those who had read Stalin's boastful declaration on the draft Constitution of the U. S. S. R. on November 25, 1936. In this speech the Soviet dictator broadcast not only a complete victory of the Socialist system in every sphere of national economy, but also the "liquidation of all exploiting classes."

Naturally there were still some survivors of these classes but not all of them were hostile to the Soviet government, and the few still inimical to it were so negligible that political rights might safely be restored to them. "The landowning class," the dictator said, "has been liquidated already as a result of the victorious civil war. As for other exploiting classes, they have shared its fate. In the sphere of industry the capitalist class has ceased to exist; the agricultural class of kulaks is no more, also the merchants and profiteers. Thus the exploiting classes have been wiped out. Remain the working classes—workers, peasants and intelligentsia."

Developing the same idea Stalin continued: "In the U. S. S. R. there are no longer such classes as capitalists, landowners, kulaks—only two classes (the intelligentsia being only an élite of both) workers and peasants, whose interests not only do not clash but are, on the contrary, common. Consequently, in the U. S. S. R. there is no ground for the existence of several parties and for freedom for these parties. In the U. S. S. R. there is place only for one—the Communist Party."

Following upon this optimistic declaration the great trial which took place in Moscow in January was intended to show that in the U. S. S. R. political and economic struggle have never

ceased, and that, if even whole classes were wiped out, class war was still being waged. Indeed, in another speech delivered at the plenary session of the All-Russian Communist Party conference early in March of this year Stalin reproved his high officials for imagining that the class war was over: "This is an error," he said; "our material success only encourages the class enemy to greater activity and malice." These two statements seem surprisingly contradictory: all enemy classes have been "liquidated," eliminated, destroyed, yet class war is still going on, and more surprising even for Communists, the class war will proceed as long as the Communist State exists! For it is obvious to every observer that it is the Communist system which makes class war inevitable and produces conditions under which it becomes possible.

The great trial of Trotskyists in January, 1937 was not the first of its kind. In 1931 there was the spectacular trial of the engineers of the Donetz basin, accused of plotting and wrecking the factories and mines, when a number of men were found guilty, some of them executed. In the spring of 1933 came the turn of the employees of the Metropolitan-Vickers Company at Moscow, saved only by the timely interference of the British Government. August, 1936, saw the trial of the "Trotskyite-Zinovievite terrorist centre" when 13 men were condemned to death and shot.

Nor is this January trial the last, for following upon it numerous arrests have been made and are still being made almost daily and a new identical trial is being prepared. With the exception of the case of the Vickers employees most of those inculpated in these trials were Communists, many, especially those of the last two, belonged to the old revolutionaries, the so-called "Bolshevik Old Guard," men who had

worked with Lenin in exile and helped him to establish Communism in Russia.

Certain observers have imagined that the recent trials signify the advent of a new régime in Russia: Stalin, they say, is ridding himself of all true Communists; the Russian Thermidor, if not yet at hand, is very near, a fact which is apparent in the new régime established by Stalin's Constitution. As to foreign relations, these optimists affirm that Stalin's policy is the reverse of that of Trotsky who considered that Russian Communism had no chance of survival unless the world at large was converted to the same creed. Stalin, it is affirmed, believes that his régime may survive in Russia independently of the political creed of other countries; therefore he is not interested in the world-wide spreading of Communism and in a universal revolution.

The fallacy of this point of view is demonstrated by the error of the last assertion: never has the propaganda of international Communism been so intensive as from the time that Stalin became virtual ruler of Russia. The admission of the U. S. S. R. to the League of Nations lent support to this propaganda, a fact which Litvinov skillfully used for fomenting trouble among all European nations. The very active and effective interference of Soviet Russia in Spain, her ceaseless stream of agitators, organizers, soldiers, arms, ammunition and food to the Spanish Reds before any other country had begun to help the Nationalists, shows that far from any desire to localize Communism in Russia, Stalin, as his many pronouncements make clear, aims at world-revolution and the establishment of Communism everywhere. Why then were the old Communists brought to trial and of what crimes were they guilty?

In order to answer this question it is imperative to understand the funda-

mental difference between the conception of justice in the Communist State and in countries based on the survivals of a Christian moral code. Owing to the separation of State legislation from the influence of the Church, in most so-called "bourgeois" countries the notion of *crime* is that of an act *morally wrong*, something which is in the nature of *sin*. To kill a man, steal his property, perpetrate a sacrilege, and other acts, are not only sinful but also criminal. When the State punishes acts directed against itself, it is because the offender has sinned against the whole community: it is as immoral to harm the commonweal as to harm an individual, and the State's *raison d'être* is the protection of individuals, especially when such individuals are unable to protect themselves.

This lofty conception of the State has been sadly distorted in modern times and the notion of a moral wrong as the basis of crime is rapidly disappearing. In the Communist State this notion has never existed, as there is an altogether different conception of crime. Dialectic materialism, upon which Communism is based, knows no such thing as moral law: in the dialectic process through which matter blindly gropes towards its goal—classless society—everything, whether good or bad, is necessary and merely a symptom of development. In fact all the phenomena of this world, as well as all human acts, are rather good because they all contribute to the movement towards final perfection. Even those acts which at the given moment seem to impede this movement are useful, and therefore good, because the reaction they stimulate causes a greater step forward towards the final goal. Therefore, when judging human acts, Communism has no use for any stable moral laws established by a higher Being who laid them down when He created man.

For the Communist the State is the highest approach to perfection, therefore everything is judged from the standpoint of the interests of the State, and a good citizen is one who in every way contributes to the fulfillment of the aims of the State even when this involves acting against his conscience. Therefore a crime is not an outrage or a great wrong done to another human being or to society as representing individuals, but primarily a *socially dangerous act*:

"The aim of the penal legislation of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic (R. S. F. S. R.) is to protect the Socialist State of the workers and peasants and the established order therein against socially dangerous acts

(crimes) by applying to persons committing such acts the measures of social defense provided for in the present code" (Article I of the Penal Code of the R. S. F. S. R.).

"Every act or omission is considered socially dangerous which is directed against the Soviet régime, or which violates the order of things established by the workers' and peasants' authority for the period of transition to a Communist régime" (Art. VI of the same Code).

These principles laid down as the foundation of Soviet justice enable us to understand the attitude toward the so-called "criminals." When studying the Soviet Penal Code we are surprised to see how leniently it treats those who offend against the moral law; a murderer who has put his neighbor to death in the most brutal way will get off with ten years' hard labor, for the murdered individual interests the State merely as an insignificant cog in its vast machinery. It is quite the reverse when the crime has been directed against one who is of some importance to the State—a leader, a State official or a prominent member of the Party. In such case the whole weight of the law crushes the culprit.

In the whole world there is no other Penal Code containing so many clauses by which the death penalty may be imposed as the Code of the R. S. F. S. R. Almost every offense, if directed against the State, even such petty misdeeds as the smuggling of goods over the border, the evasion or refusal to pay taxes, propaganda intended to arouse racial or religious enmity, and even the dissemination, preparation or possession of literature of such a character may, under certain conditions, be considered as capital offenses punishable by death. It is not surprising, therefore, that peasant women in the Ukraine have been shot at the time of the famine for stealing from their own fields a few ears of wheat to feed their children; this grain was to be requisitioned by the State, therefore to take it was a crime. It is also clear that those who have plotted or in any way acted against the State were guilty in the eyes of Communist judges of the vilest and most objectionable crimes deserving no mercy whatever.

As an *omission* may be considered as criminal as an *act*, it is also clear that men in the Communist State may be apprehended even when they have *done nothing*, but when their very existence is considered dangerous or harmful to the State. In this case it is a matter of mere expediency and, as individuals have no absolute or intrinsic value in Communist society, their

disappearance for the sake of the "common good" may be decreed with the same facility as the destruction of rats spreading pestilence or rats infecting a territory with malaria.

Yet the State being only an abstraction, it is a group of men, or even one man, who, invested with the power of the State, represents it and decides what is good or bad for the whole community. Thus it happens that the decision of the general policy of the State finally rests upon the ruler and it is *his* policy which has to be accepted as the final rule of life. All the men who were brought to trial in Moscow in the last two cases may have been zealous Communists but their particular brand of Communism was not that of Comrade Stalin, therefore they were eliminated. No doubt personal strife between these rival leaders had much to do in the wholesale condemnation of Russian Trotskyists. It is said that the vindictive Caucasian never forgave his former comrades the contempt they showed him in past days. But were Stalin to be replaced by another man this new dictator would have to act in the same way as Stalin or be destroyed by his opponents.

The whole structure of the Communist State is based upon the denial of human liberty and free thought, on oppression and tyranny. Trials such as those which have been witnessed in Moscow last August and in January must and will be multiplied in the future. Such trials do not mean the end of the régime of terror but show that this régime is functioning in a normal way. It is said that in the near future other prominent Communists will be brought to trial—Bukharin, the author of the *ABC of Communism*; Rykov, former head of the Soviet government; Yagoda, all-powerful chief of the OGPU or secret police, and many others are on the list.

Will Stalin himself be entered one day in this list, and will this mean the end of Communism in Russia? If Stalin shared the fate of his victims, this would merely signify the advent to power of another rival faction; only when Russia officially and finally rejects Communism and accepts the Christian doctrine and morals as the foundation of the State can a new régime be established in which the individual and the family will have rights recognized and protected by the State.

The recent mass trials have raised other questions: was it possible indeed that even the most hardened criminals could have committed such crimes as those to which some of the accused have confessed? Indeed at the second Trotskyist trial (that of the "parallel

centre") the accused were found guilty of treason, plotting to overthrow the existing power in the U. S. S. R., abetting a military attack upon Russia by foreign powers by promising to surrender to them Russian territories, attempting to restore capitalism in Russia, spying, carrying on a defeatist propaganda, sabotage, preventing the production of arms and equipment necessary for military purposes by means of arson, organization of railway disasters, pit explosions and murder, attempting to wreck the Five Year Plan by obstructing the work of industries, causing the manufacture of shoddy goods, attempting to murder Soviet leaders. Even if it were admitted that all the 17 accused were exceptional criminals, the accumulation of such a number of crimes clearly shows that the case was trumped-up, staged by the authorities to show the masses the wickedness and perversion of the opposition.

Another curious trait specific to all Soviet trials is the confessions of the accused. In the Zinoviev-Kamenev trial, of the 16 accused, 14 pleaded guilty of all charges at the very beginning of the trial; the other two while pleading guilty of organizing the crimes, denied their participation in these crimes. In the Radek-Sokolnikov trial all the 17 accused pleaded guilty of all the crimes imputed to them.

These amazing confessions of guilt are not confined to Russians—at a recent trial of German engineers the accused also confessed their guilt; at the trial of the Metro-Vickers employees Mr. Macdonald who, during the investigation, had confessed, at the public trial pleaded not guilty, but 20 minutes later pleaded guilty again to all the charges. Another of his companions, Mr. Thornton, though afterwards pleading not guilty, at first confessed certain charges and signed a paper to this effect.

In an American court when the accused pleads guilty, the case is ended and the judge pronounces the sentence. Not so in a Soviet court—the trial goes on, showing the enormous difference between both conceptions of justice. In the West the task of a court is to find out whether the accused has actually committed the crime of which he is charged, and if his guilt is proved, to impose a punishment corresponding to the crime committed. A Soviet court is dispensed from the first task—it decides even before the trial that the accused are guilty of all the charges which the prosecution has thought fit to lay upon their shoulders. Therefore the verdict is a foregone conclusion, and the only sensible thing the accused can do is to "play the game" as good

Communists and help their judges to carry out the grim comedy of the trial.

It has been wondered by what means the confessions are extorted, and stories of drugging, hypnotizing and other methods of breaking down the prisoner's *morale* have been circulated. The fact observed by many witnesses of Soviet trials that the accused appear stunned and recite the long litany of their crimes in a toneless, monotonous voice lends faith to such stories. The trial of the Vickers' employees, better known than the others because of the subsequent release of the condemned men, has shown that nothing is omitted to break the resistance of those accused. The means may vary according to the person. Whereas long solitary confinement in a soundproof padded cell may suffice to shatter the nervous system of one man, stronger men have to be subjected to other methods in order to extort the required confessions.

Then there are such physical tortures as continuous examination during 48 or more hours by relays of examiners, without break or sleep, the ordeal of being forced to stand up in a closely packed cell for days until the veins on the legs swell and burst, the alternate overheating the cell and freezing it below zero. There are also mental tortures—threats to relatives and friends for whose sake the prisoner often prefers to sacrifice his own life. As a matter of fact clever and unscrupulous jailers succeed in extorting from the prisoner any false confession, provided they play upon his dearest affections.

The following question inevitably arises: what is the actual meaning of all these trials; for what purpose are they engineered? The only possible answer is—for reasons of internal policy. At a certain moment those in power find it expedient to impress popular imagination by the demonstration of the existence of groups of men plotting against public security; at another the policy of the day consists in placating the opposition of the Right, too powerful to be suppressed by ordinary means; then a trial is staged where old Communists are implicated in the vilest crimes and executed in the name of Communism.

National and racial antagonism may be at the root of these trials: it is significant that of the 33 tried in the two Trotskyist trials 20 were Jews, a symptom of anti-Semitism growing in Soviet Russia. There is nothing sacred for Stalin, the Red dictator: he clings to power and is ready to sacrifice anyone, his nearest and dearest, to maintain it.

At this very moment great changes

are taking place in Soviet Russia—the Army has grown into a formidable factor. The news that eight Soviet Generals have been condemned to death by shooting on charges of treason has shocked a world which has become almost shock-proof as regards happenings in Soviet Russia. New trials will soon follow and no Communist can feel secure. Nevertheless, as we said before, it is too early to speak of any change of régime: men at the top may change but the state of lawlessness will still be there, and until the spiritual value of man and his intrinsic rights are recognized, there can be no regeneration of Russia.

SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY

By the REV. LAWRENCE KENT PATTERSON, S.J.

(Excerpts from lecture delivered by Father Patterson)

It is impossible to deny that Stalin and his followers have lessened illiteracy and stimulated production in certain lines. But the true state of affairs in Russia is this: The Russian people are ruled by a most ruthless and cruel dictatorship, which violates the natural rights and fundamental liberties of man. The Russian people enjoy neither political nor religious liberty.

The proofs are numerous and clear. Though "throttling religion" has supplanted violent "liquidation," the State remains militantly atheistic. School, press, theater, screen are all under the control of the Red Dictator and his tools. Private schools are barred in Russia. The vaunted Constitution grants no freedom for "religious propaganda."

The constant "purges" and mass trials reveal the brutality and terrorism of the Stalin régime. In 1921 there were 21 members on the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Russia. Of these, four died a natural death; five have been executed by the Stalin régime; one, Tomsky, committed suicide; three are at present under sentence of death; Trotsky is in exile, and only four, including Stalin, still hold office.

Of the inner circle in 1921, or the "Big Six," Lenin died a natural death, Zinoviev and Kamenev have been executed, Rykov is under sentence of death, Tomsky committed suicide under a cloud of suspicion and Trotsky is in exile. "The Revolution has devoured its children."

I now cite evidence from disillusioned sympathizers with Soviet Russia and other unbiased sources. Andre Gide was an ardent admirer of the

Russian Revolution. He visited the Soviet to see the great experiment in action. His little book, "Return From Soviet Russia" (which appeared in 1936), gives his impressions of Russia under Stalin. "I doubt whether in any country today, even in Hitler's Germany, the spirit is less free, more curbed, affrighted and enslaved," Gide notes the universal and sycophantic cult of Stalin, the poor quality of industrial products; and the rigid control of all life and action by a ruthless bureaucracy. He stresses the extraordinary ignorance of foreign countries prevalent in the Soviet and the return of class distinctions and social privileges.

Is Russia a democracy? Mr. W. H. Chamberlin is not, and never was a Communist, but he is a most acute and unbiased scholar and journalist. He resided in Moscow for 12 years. In his recent book, "A False Utopia," he points out that in Russia there is no freedom of speech, no freedom of assembly, no freedom of the press, and no freedom of election. They are the foundation stones of democracy. In Russia critics of Stalin and his rule are liable to arrest, imprisonment, exile or execution by the powerful and active G. P. U. (Secret Police).

The press is owned and operated by the State. Only one party is allowed in Russia. The labor unions are dominated by the Communist Party, and are mere tools in its hands. Strikes are outlawed. As to elections, they are a sham. Under the "one party system," and the "single candidate régime," Russian elections are twin brothers of Nazi plebiscites. Yet Communists, while denouncing the menace of Hitlerism, hail in Stalin, a champion of democracy!

Fred E. Beal, the American radical, fled to Russia when sentenced for complicity in the murder of a policeman at Gastonia, N. C., some 15 years ago. Beal has now returned from Russia a sadder and wiser man. In his book, "Word From Nowhere," he declares that Stalin has established a tyranny in Russia of shocking brutality. "I was crushed by a dogma more soulless than the walls of any penitentiary." Beal denounces the exploitation of children in the factories. Unemployment still exists, despite "forced labor" in mines, digging canals and other hard tasks. Beal declares, "Soviet Russia is the grandest fraud in history."

Sir Walter Citrine, the general secretary of the British T. U. C. (Trades Union Congress), thus describes some aspects of the Stalin régime: "The wholesale enforcement of speeding up"—"the absence of freedom of speech and press, the throwing of po-

litical opponents into concentration camps, the secret police, the censorship of public writings, the domination of education by adherents of the régime." "I saw women digging drains, loading sand into wagons, swinging sledge hammers and engaged in similar work." "I saw people living in hovels scarcely fit for animals."

Mr. Max Eastman (*Harpers*, February, 1937, "The End of Socialism in Russia"), notes that in Russia wages vary quite as much as in the U. S. A. Engineers and officials earn from 80 to 100 times as much as unskilled laborers. Class distinctions have emerged. Government bonds, paying 7 per cent, form good investments for members of the Soviet elite which now rules Russia.

Mr. Eugene Lyons' "Assignment in Utopia," is a ruthless expose of the Stalin tyranny. Lyons went to Russia full of confidence in the "Great Socialist Experiment." Little by little hard experience shook and destroyed his faith in Stalinism. "I had the sense of seeing a nation trapped." "The masses are under the heel of arbitrary power." "The peasants won their land only to lose it again." "Serfs for the absentee landlords in the Kremlin." "At the top of this misery new privileged classes have emerged." "An upstart democracy." "I left Russia convinced that man's greatest task is to defend the basic concepts of freedom and respect for life."

Russia is a great slave state, ruled by a ruthless autocrat and a powerful bureaucracy. Terrorism is a chief agent of the régime in enforcing its will upon the masses. Freedom, justice and natural rights are flaunted in Russia today. Economic conditions, viewing the nation as a whole, show little or no improvement over 1914. Stalin is no democrat, no liberator of the masses. He is a combination of Ivan the Terrible, Peter the Great, and Machiavelli. Let us strive to end the abuses which supply raw material to the Communistic propaganda.

RUSSIA ARMED TO THE TEETH; PRATES PEACE

By the REV. LAWRENCE KENT PATTERSON, S.J.

(Excerpts from lecture "The Foreign Policy of Stalin," delivered by Father Patterson. The lecture was the fourth and last of a series given by Father Patterson.)

The present foreign policy of the Kremlin is closely linked with the strategy of the "Common Front."

In 1934 the Seventh Congress of

the Komintern launched the "Common Front." "Bore from within," "capitalize every grievance" are among its watchwords. The "Common Front" seeks to form an alliance between Communists, Socialists and bourgeois Radicals. It declares that its aim is to protect democracy and liberty against the menace of Fascism. The Soviet Union and its Red Army are bulwarks of world peace.

Lenin despised all capitalistic governments, whether "democratic" or "autocratic" in form. For him the State was a weapon by which the exploiting class disciplined and oppressed the toiling masses. The League of Nations was an "imperialistic fraud" and "bourgeois democracy" a mere trap to deceive the proletariat. Communists still regard Lenin as their prophet. Hence, we may ask: "Why the Common Front?"

The change was in strategy, not in principles. The failure of Communists to produce successful revolutions (outside of Russia) by their own unaided efforts, the rise of Hitler to power in Germany, the Japanese advance into Manchukuo, all these contributed to the adoption of the Common Front. In Spain, the "Popular Front," composed of Left Republicans, Socialists, Communists and Anarcho-Syndicalists won the elections of February, 1936, though polling a minority of votes. The result was increasing chaos, terminating in civil war. Franco struck just in time to prevent Spain from becoming a second Russia.

In France the "Common Front" government of Blum is dependent upon Communistic support, and is thus in reality largely dominated from the Kremlin. In our own country, Communists "bore from within" on many fronts. They are especially active in the C. I. O., a movement licit in itself. But Communists seek to make it an instrument of social disorder and strife.

In the international arena Stalin and his subtle agent, Litvinoff, pursue a policy of remarkable cleverness. Russia has joined the League of Nations and concluded alliances with France and Czechoslovakia. The Kremlin seeks to draw "democratic powers" into a "common front" against "Fascist aggressors." In case of a world war, Russia is eager to fight as the ally of the United States, Great Britain and France. "Collective security" is constantly upon the lips of the subtle Litvinoff. "Peace is indivisible" is another maxim constantly repeated by the Soviet Commissar of Foreign Affairs.

In the United States, Earl Browder,

Foster and other Communist leaders are now strong "Interventionists" in regard to our foreign policy. The *Sunday Worker*, the *Daily Worker*, the *New Masses*, and all Communist organs clamor for a boycott against Japan, and exhort our Government to join in "collective action" against "Fascist aggressors." In cold reality, they wish us to ally ourselves with Russia against Japan and to commit ourselves against Germany and Italy in case of war in Europe.

I hold no brief for Fascism, and I detest the "Brown Paganism" of the extreme Nazis. Again, the aggressive policy of Japan in China is hardly worthy of high commendation. But to divide the world into "villain nations" and "angelic nations" is both unfair and dangerous. The United States has no mission to reform the world, or to police the world. Our best contribution to world peace is to promote the removal of barriers to the flow of fruitful international trade. The "have not" or "underprivileged" nations are justified in demanding freer access to raw materials. Absolute free trade throughout the world is neither practicable nor desirable. But the present strangulation of international trade is one root cause of war.

Browder and his colleagues are in reality foes of peace. They seek to embroil the United States in Asiatic and European quarrels which are no direct concern of ours and whose final settlement cannot be made by us. They arouse popular resentment against Japan, Hitler and Mussolini, yet boldly depict the brutal Stalin regime as "true popular democracy."

Russia is armed to the teeth, with a standing army of 1,300,000 and at least 10,000,000 trained reserves. Yet the Soviet Union is the most "pacific" of powers. Communists hope to spread their gospel through China to India and all Asia in case Japan is crushed. With all her faults, Nippon remains a bulwark against Bolshevism in the Far East. In Europe Hitlerism has pursued a persecuting policy against Catholics, Lutherans and Jews. No one can condone its excesses. But Hitler is surely no worse than Stalin, to put it mildly.

The "Common Front" is a "Trojan Horse." In domestic affairs it seeks to pave the way for violent social revolution under the mask of combating "reaction." It claims and abuses civil liberties which Stalin and his followers flout in Russia. In the international arena the "Common Front" seeks to embroil us in measures to preserve "collective security," measures which may well lead to war. It is not the task of Uncle Sam to salvage

from the flames the "chestnuts" of Stalin.—*Balt. Cath. Review*, March 25 and April 1.

GERMAN-RUSSIAN RELATIONS

English Observer Says Two Countries Have More in Common than Appears at First Glance; Calls Collaboration Not Impossible

Manchester Guardian Correspondence

Until the arrival of the Hitler régime in Germany nothing was done on the German side to disturb German-Russian relations. But there had already been a falling away from the Rapallo policy. After Locarno there was a cooling of relations on the Russian side. A Germany free from reparations was no longer a political comrade on the road for the Soviets; and this was just the time when Soviet policy in China suffered defeat.

The break with the Kuomintang and with the Indian Nationalists had come; the young national states of Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan had consolidated themselves, and the Soviets had to defer for a long time any hope of revolutionizing Asia. As world revolutionary, Moscow turned back to Europe.

Here Stalin's own theory of the European revolution made its appearance. This was that Fascism is the final stage of capitalism. There can be no skipping of an historic period. Germany could not be Bolshevised before Fascism reached it.

The practical conclusions drawn from this theory were interesting. Hitlerist Fascism, they ran, provided a much better springboard for the Bolshevising of Germany than Italian Fascism in Italy. Hitler, like Mussolini, would extirpate the worst enemies of Bolshevism, the Social Democrats and the Christian trade unionists. But Hitler also carried in his propaganda arsenal many things which would educate the German masses in revolutionary thinking while they would split the bourgeois ranks everywhere.

And, in point of fact, since 1926 National Socialism, which had been in urgent need of ideas, has been infected with many Bolshevik lines of thought. It took over from Bolshevism not only the dictatorial methods, but also certain forms of organization, so that the two régimes have often been compared to one another.

National Socialism borrowed the whole demagoguery of Bolshevism: "Strength through joy" has almost its exact prototype in Soviet Russia. In many respects the building up of the state has been identical in the two systems. "That which serves the people is right," says the National Socialist

constitution, and the Bolshevik constitution says precisely the same.

Still more striking is the similarity in economic development. The difference lies in the economic conditions at the birth of the two régimes. In Russia the war had left the country's industries in ruin, and civil war demanded the most ruthless commandeering of everything. In Germany the National Socialists took over in time of peace—during an economic depression, but with the country's industries intact and the middle classes entirely submissive.

But both régimes, in order to maintain political dictatorship and to prevent it from being destroyed by economic needs, were compelled against their will to introduce a currency for internal use only, and were subsequently pushed into complete autarchy.

However, an important difference still remains. The state capitalism of the Soviet Union is administered by salaried officials; the National Socialist system is administered by ostensibly independent business men who, in reality, are merely state commissioners. This latter system has economic advantages for the country but, in the view of the Bolsheviks, political disadvantages for the régime.

For the old capitalist is still in his seat in the eyes of the workers, as legal owner of his works, and class hatred can be worked up against him at the critical moment.

However necessary in the Bolshevik view the Hitlerist régime in Germany may be as a stage on the road to world revolution, that régime involves dangers for the Soviet Union. Germany might receive a world mandate for a struggle against Bolshevism. Even if she does not, she might, possibly with some of her allies, become strong enough to launch a war against the Soviet Union on her own account.

One way of preventing this would, of course, be by means of a diplomacy that habitually supported the Third Reich. Moscow has never entirely burnt this bridge. And in its diplomacy Moscow has at all times kept as far as possible from its propagandist anti-Nazism. It has, moreover, not taken too tragically Berlin's anti-Bolshevik attitude.

It will be remembered that immediately after Hitler's seizure of power the German-Russian treaty of friendship of 1925 was renewed. The Reich also gave further credits to the Soviet Union, which accepted them at the very time when it declined credit offers, however good, from other states. And while Soviet trade with other countries continually diminishes,

German-Russian trade relations improved until last year.

When one reads the reports of the German newspaper correspondents in Moscow one wonders that they are still alive; at all events, no correspondent from any other country could venture on one-tenth of the things the Germans send to their papers. The reason is simple. There exists an unwritten press agreement: the two partners need their reciprocal denunciations for their internal policy and agree to take no notice of them. Not only that, but a German journalist can get a visa for the Soviet Union much more easily than one of any other nationality can.

It is well known that there are influential industrial and other quarters in Germany from which a settlement of outstanding questions with the Soviet Union is almost categorically demanded. It is possible that a rapprochement may begin at any time. Events in the Far East would supply a good pretext.

At first the National Socialists wanted to have Japan as their ally in the future war with the Soviet Union. But Reichswehr and business leaders were against any serious anti-Russian policy. The Reichswehr brought forward military objections to any alliance with Japan. When young officers tried to assassinate ministers, and when, in 1936, a whole Japanese division mutinied, it was evident that the discipline of the Japanese Army was not of the best; and no ally could be worth having if its army was not an absolutely reliable servant of its policy.

Finally the Reichswehr pointed out that the number of the Japanese recruits fit for military service was falling. The military alliance was not concluded—only the curious anti-Communist pact.

The Soviet Union is plainly on China's side, though the Russo-Chinese intimacy should not be overestimated. And what about Germany? A Japanese attack on the Soviet Union would probably have been welcomed by the National Socialists, though not in all political quarters in Germany.

But, apart from the German desire not to get involved in a quarrel with Great Britain, the Japanese action in China is in conflict with German interests. Every square mile of Chinese territory in Japanese hands will automatically be closed not only to German trade but to German investment, with which Germany cannot permanently dispense.

Many more Germans are at work in China than in Japan, and German business interests are far greater in China than in Japan. Former German officers are employed in China as in-

structors. German interests point to cooperation with China, not Japan.

Cooperation with China would bring Germany into line with Soviet policy. If this has not yet happened, it may be because the crisis in the Far East broke out before the Spanish crisis was over, and Germany has certain commitments in Spain and the Mediterranean which she cannot simply disregard without danger.

Moreover, in Germany, as in the Soviet Union, a change in the mutual relations must first be prepared for at home. The various oppositions have been denounced as tools of National Socialism, and what would be said if in the midst of its arrests and shootings the Government were to do the very thing for which the oppositionists are being shot?

It may do it later, when conditions have changed a little and the public with its short memory has forgotten the arguments brought against the opposition. Soon or late the two dictatorships may return to diplomatic friendship, as a tactical maneuver; they will argue that, after all, their task is to pursue practical politics. Meanwhile they will continue scheming to overreach one another.—*Baltimore Sun*, Dec. 21, 1937.

GREEN CONDEMNS UNIONS OF RUSSIA

Louis Stark reports in the *New York Times*: "If the Red Trade Union International is admitted into the International Federation of Trade Unions the American Federation of Labor 'will feel compelled to withdraw' from the I. F. T. U., President William Green said today. The I. F. T. U. executive committee has rejected the plan 'for the time being,' his statement said, but not because of 'the principle involved.'"

Declaring that the Russian trade unions were not free unions in the sense that trade unionism is understood in Democratic countries, Mr. Green said that the Executive Council had authorized him to transmit the Federation's views to Sir Walter Citrine, president of the I. F. T. U. and secretary of the British Trade Union Congress.

Today's action by the Executive Council was the second rebuff administered by it to the I. F. T. U. in a week, for last week the Federation spokesmen turned down the earnest request of Sir Walter Citrine for a stringent economic and financial boycott of Japan.

The announcement of the A. F. of L. said:

"The Executive Council of the

American Federation of Labor is glad to learn that the plan of admitting the so-called unions of Soviet Russia to the International Federation of Trade Unions has been disapproved by the executive committee of the International Federation of Trade Unions, at least for the time being.

"It appears, however, that the rejection of the project at this time has not been based upon the principle which is involved but only upon certain conditions which the Russian organizations had attached to the proposal. We, therefore, feel it our duty to declare ourselves unequivocally against the proposal.

"Sufficient ground for our objection is found in the fact that the Russian organizations in question are not trade unions in the sense that term bears in every democratic country and which it has always and everywhere borne until the rise of dictatorships since the World War. They have no more freedom of action than have the official organizations commonly known as 'Labor Fronts' in Italy, Germany and Austria. Like these, they are in effect only a part of the administrative machinery of the dictatorial régime.

"Free trade unions and governmentally controlled 'labor fronts' are as incompatible as are democracy and dictatorship in the State. The attempt to combine them in one world federation can result only in confusion, internal strife and disaster. The American Federation of Labor will take no part in such a suicidal venture.

"Organized labor in the United States is firmly committed to the maintenance of free trade unionism as well as of freedom in the political field. It has already suffered too much at the hands of advocates or agents of the dictatorships to be blind to the danger involved in any compromise with them.

"Should the Russian organizations become a part of the International Federation of Trade Unions we have no doubt that the American Federation of Labor will feel compelled to withdraw. It would deeply regret such a breaking of the bonds that connect it with trade unionism beyond the sea. We earnestly hope that the occasion will not rise."

Sentiment as to possible action against the C. I. O. has not yet crystallized, and there are some council members who feel that no retaliatory action should be taken at this time, even if the United Mine Workers' convention finds Mr. Green guilty of "treason" to his organization.

Mr. Green said the council was disappointed over the failure of the Senate to adopt prevailing wage scales.

Russian Tactics Exposed

FR. E. A. WALSH CONDEMNS SOVIET TREASON TRIALS

The current treason trials in Soviet Russia were characterized as "judicial mummery" by the Rev. Edmund A. Walsh, S.J., vice president of Georgetown University, in the fourth of a series of lectures he is giving in Washington.

If grown men can descend to such tactics as these, Father Walsh said, "there is only one crowning insanity left for Moscow." "Formal indictment may yet be drawn in some future trial charging the Almighty Himself with military conspiracy against the Kremlin," Father Walsh added. "I do not place it outside the versatility of Soviet psychology—if only they can draw the specifications without admitting the existence of a Supreme Being."

Father Walsh had previously directed attention to dispatches from Moscow stating that a piece of evidence introduced against one of the defendants was a scrap of paper on which was written a prayer that God would arise in indignation and smite the enemies of His name. The speaker said this was held by the Bolsheviks to be "a most damning piece of evidence" and that it was introduced "to prove conspiracy with supernatural agencies hostile to the Soviet Union."

The statement by Alexander Kerensky, former Premier of the Provisional Government of Russia, here this week that the amazing confessions in the current trials were obtained from decoy ducks, was said by Father Walsh to be enlightening. "By this he meant," Father Walsh said, "that the prisoners are promised pardon antecedently if they will publicly confess everything catalogued by Mr. Stalin's secret police, thus furnishing the dictator with arguments to prove the vigilance and efficiency of his government. They are offered either full pardon or relatively light sentence if they will thus cooperate, but are assured of death if they refuse. Only those are brought to trial who agree to these Machiavellian proposals, the others being executed summarily without trial. . . . Out of those who do confess, some few are actually spared and carried over as witnesses to the next trial. Each new victim, seeing that open confession has saved some few scapegoats in the past, takes a gambler's chance and confesses to everything alleged against him in the hope that he may be the one lucky

enough to escape present slaughter."

Still another related phase of the turbulent world situation is Mexico. In this the United States is directly concerned. The "expropriation" of foreign-owned oil properties is taken as a very disturbing step. The question, as Washington sees it, is not merely whether and how the "expropriated" properties are to be paid for, but what the effect is going to be upon the economic condition of Mexico itself. An internal collapse, which would pave the way for greater extremes and disorder, is not regarded as remote.

Reported negotiations with Japan, looking to the building of a pipe line across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, are also under scrutiny. They recall the stormy debate over the so-called Lodge Resolution, years ago, when Japan was reported to be negotiating for the lease of land in Mexico for a naval base. Mexico may subject the "good neighbor" policy to its first severe test.

Russian Godless' Tactics Altered To Reach Masses (Special Correspondence, N. C. W. C. News Service)

Moscow, March 28.—The great majority of the Russian people cannot be reached by the administrative propaganda for the simple reason that it is much too "deep" to be effective among the masses. What is needed is something more concrete, more material and more objective. The Soviet Government has realized this and that accounts for the great effort being made by the atheist headquarters to appeal to the external senses, one might say, of the people.

There is one fact that is generally unknown abroad. During the "electoral campaign," when all the voters were forcibly regimented into the preliminary *sobranie* (assemblies), the officials took advantage of their presence to bring pressure to bear on believers. The halls had been arranged beforehand so that some short exhibitions, or plays, could be given. At some places an effort was made to discredit religion by producing a parody on baptism. The play indicated the hostile attitude that any Soviet young woman should take toward this ceremony. At others the "intimacy between capitalism and religion" was the theme of the production.

Anti-religious plays, such as "Galileo" and "Giordano Bruno," enacted

by professional players of the "Planetarium" group, have been resumed. They are also given over the radio. Everything is being done along this line to try to impress the masses.

The radio plays an important role, not only at Moscow but in the provinces. Leningrad, Karkhov, Kiev and Voronezh—to cite only a few—have their anti-religious speakers who broadcast several times a week. Jaroslavsky, head of the atheist movement, is a frequent speaker. "Converts to atheism" are led to the microphone. On February 5 a school teacher (at least that is how she was introduced) declared that she had ceased to believe in God the day that she went to confession and found the priest drunk. This serves as a model for the usual "convert" broadcast.

Handbills and posters play their role, but the *Komsomolskaya Pravda* of February 3 severely takes to task a publishing contract at Leningrad saying that the placards published there can serve only one purpose—to discredit anti-religious propaganda. *Antireligioznik*, a more intellectual review, in its first 1938 issue deplores the fact that the anti-religious exhibition in the former Novodevitchi monastery at Moscow, is very inadequately explained. The cards attached to the exhibits, it points out, serve to teach religious ceremonies rather than having any other value.

Although some of the museums have been closed, greater attention is centered on the more important ones which remain open. The famous central anti-religious museum of Moscow, which was so offensive to foreigners, no longer exists, and the former monastery of the Passion, which housed it, has been destroyed. The exhibits have been transferred to a new locale, a former Orthodox church which is being transformed, having a new facade, an auditorium with motion-picture equipment, lecture halls, etc. The construction work is not yet complete, and meanwhile the *vouizstavka* (exhibition), with its inscriptions in six foreign languages, has been set up and receives visitors. Not only the school children, but factory workers are taken there regularly and a trained lecturer—male or female—orates the customary stupidities.

It is not quite accurate to speak of a recrudescence of anti-religious propaganda in Soviet Russia, for it has never ceased. But what is going on now—and on a very large scale—is an intensification of procedures which

have never been abandoned. Little by little, one after another, activity is unmasked and it is nothing more than stupid to predict a relaxation of anti-religious propaganda in the near future, as some foreign correspondents seem to be doing. They are quite evidently very badly informed.

The Pope and Russia

The *N. C. W. C. News Service* reported by radio on March 18: His Holiness Pope Pius XI remains optimistic over the future of religion in Russia. He foresees a time when, in God's Providence, the evils there will pass away.

Moreover, he stresses the fact that the Vatican is preparing for that day.

This was revealed on Wednesday, when Pope Pius received in audience the faculty and students of the Russian College, telling them that the one great lesson of history is that great events end by obeying not the thought and hands of men but the thought and hand of God.

"Russia, this immense country of many people, has fallen under a burden of misfortunes, sorrows, sufferings and evils that can scarcely be imagined," Pope Pius said. "However, Russia is large not only geographically but large also in goodness and in the fidelity to the divine law of such souls as were able to know it, notwithstanding persecutions, sufferings and sorrows.

"Our Russian College was founded with the aim of preparing a means of relieving such suffering and such tears when God wills it. Those who are calculating only humanly will say, perhaps, that We have calculated badly, not considering the future. On the contrary, We have considered the future which is certainly in the hands of God and obey the divine sign. The day is certainly coming when things will be as God wishes and not as men wished and continue to wish them to be.

"History is full of this great lesson. Indeed, it can be called the one great lesson of history; namely, that great events will end by obeying not the thought and hands of men but the thought and hand of God. God sees and provides. Whether He is providing today, whether He is providing tomorrow, whether He is providing in the near or distant future, we cannot say.

"As for human calculations, and the lives of peoples, ten or twenty years are very little. Very little. They are little, also, for a poor man such as Us numbering more than eighty years. They are nothing before God. They are nothing before the centuries.

"God knows what years, days and hours are before Him. As we have seen so often with Our own eyes, when the hour of God comes, men may remain bewildered at what happens, but it happens just as God established."

Concluding his discourse, Pope Pius blessed especially the preparation of Russian students to do much good in their own country when God wishes it. He blessed them all, His Holiness said, with the vision of the present full of sorrows and tribulations, but with hope in divine mercy.

U. S. EX-ENVOY TO SPAIN, NON-CATHOLIC, REFUTES LEFTISTS' PROPAGANDA

A non-Catholic speaking in a Protestant church in Washington delivered one of the most telling refutations of Spanish Leftist propaganda ever heard there.

The speaker was Irwin Laughlin, who has spent more than 30 years in the diplomatic service of the United States, who was Ambassador to Spain from 1929 to 1933, and who was United States Minister to Greece from 1924 to 1926. The authority of the speaker attracted an important audience to his talk in the Covenant-First Presbyterian Church, in Washington. The nature of his remarks has caused widespread comment throughout the National Capital.

Mr. Laughlin said atheism, Communism and religious persecution were the real causes of the Spanish civil war, and that the Nationalist uprising "was not a rebellion against established Government—good or bad—but an instinctive reaction of self-preservation of people who were bent on restoring social order when they saw that the Government had crumbled and was powerless to control the conflagration it had lighted."

"On this state of mind the poison of Communism, already for a long time widespread, took a renewed hold. At the beginning of the republic it had had to work more or less under control, but with the elections of February, 1936, in which the Left Wing had defeated the more moderate elements, whose influence up to that time had been steadily increasing, the Communists and Anarchists attached themselves to the party of the Left which, though prevailing at the polls, had not gained there a majority strong enough to work without them. They captured the Government in fact—the thing they pretend in their foreign propaganda is still the duly elected Republican Government, behind which they try to shelter themselves in their ef-

forts to mobilize public opinion abroad in their favor.

"Then began the terroristic conditions which produced the military movement of revulsion in July, 1936; the movement which is properly called 'Nationalistic'—for there was no longer an administration worthy of the name of 'duly elected Government'—and this protesting manifestation was soon joined by all the respectable parties in the country. Even the intellectuals, who had so greatly contributed to the success of the republican movement, and the more moderate men outstanding in the formation of the republican state, could no longer stomach the excesses of the extremists of the Left, and have practically all abjured the so-called Government, even when they have not openly joined its militant opponents. Among them I mention only the Provisional President and first elected President of the Republic, who was put out by the Communists when they usurped and destroyed the duly elected Government; the Minister for Foreign Affairs in the first Cabinet, who was repeatedly in office until the Communistic régime began; the first Ambassador to the United States; the first Ambassador to Great Britain; and Professor Unamuno, the distinguished and widely known intellectual of the University of Salamanca. There are very many more.

"Communism is a pathological problem, and a disease dangerous to the State chiefly because it is an anti-religious manifestation. Diseases of the human body are brought about by the working of destructive germs that enter the human organism. If that organism is healthy and strong it repels them at once and remains sound. If it has become weakened, from whatever cause, it may lack the force to resist them. The disease of Communism attacks the body politic, and its cohorts first of all set to work to weaken resistance.

"Its strongest resisting force is the force that is founded in religious influences, and so its first effort is to weaken them in order to break them down. The instinctive reaction of the body is to purge itself of the poison that has entered it, and the reaction of the healthy elements of a State is the same. Arnold Lunn in his book 'Spanish Rehearsal' says that Red atrocities were the cause and not the consequences of the Nationalist rising. That is merely a statement of established fact, and I may add that the immediate occasion for the epiphany of this protesting movement was the brutal murder of a moderate member of the Cortes in the Opposition, Senor

Calvo Sotelo, who, in spite of his legal immunity from arrest as a legislator, was dragged at night from his own house by Government agents and done to death in the outskirts of Madrid. The decency of Spain could stand no more.

"The military rising that followed was not a rebellion against established Government—good or bad—but an instinctive reaction for self-preservation of people who were bent on restoring social order when they saw that the Government had crumbled and was powerless to control the conflagration it had lighted. And we must remember that at the bottom of all this was an element that has shown itself capable of bestial excesses, animated by a fierce hatred of religion and all its manifestations."

Browder Statement

Links Spain Leftist

With Russ Communism

Additional evidence of Communist domination of the Spanish Leftist Government is seen in a statement prepared by Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, and read at a mass meeting of 18,000 persons in New York at the Communist Party's National Builders' Congress at Madison Square Garden.

At the same meeting 100 veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, a unit of Americans with the Spanish Leftist army, were guests of honor.

Mr. Browder, who returned last week from a visit to Soviet Russia, and then to Spain, where he was a guest of the Leftist Government, was unable to attend the meeting because of illness. His statement was read by Clarence A. Hathaway, Communist editor.

Writing about a visit he made to the Spanish Leftist Cortes, Mr. Browder said, in part:

"It is significant of the degree of political influence in the country (Spain), that after Premier Negrin's report to the Cortes, the Communist Party spokesman was first of all called upon to speak.

"Dolores Ibarruri, Passionaria, delivered the Communist declaration, supporting the government, pointing out the basis of its successes which

can be continued and extended by maintaining its correct starting point; and calling for further consolidation of the People's Front by bringing in as soon as possible the great trade union organization of the C. N. T., which, after a period of wavering, has now come over fully to the support of the Government."

(EDITOR'S NOTE: Dolores Ibarruri, known as "the Passion Flower," is the woman Communist leader accused of having ordered the execution of scores and even hundreds of men and women, including many Religious. Many of them were murdered for no other reason than they were priests or nuns, or belonged to a religious organization.

(The C. N. T. referred to by Mr. Browder is the Confederacion Nacional de Trabajadores, or National Confederation of Workers, an anarchist group. The murder of thousands and thousands of men, women and children is charged to it.)

In another part of his statement Mr. Browder told of his visit to the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in the lines near Teruel.

"It is too long a story to describe the meetings we had that Sunday, February 6, to mention the scores of old comrades we spoke with, beginning with Dave Doran and Bob Merriam of the brigade staff and extending far into the ranks. We wanted to see everyone personally, but there was no time. So we met in two big groups, and made meetings of it."

Browder's visit to this military unit of Americans fighting under a foreign flag on foreign soil also was enthusiastically described by Joseph North, war correspondent with the Spanish Leftist forces, for the *Daily Worker*, Communist paper published in New York. Mr. North described his visit in detail, reciting how enthusiastically Mr. Browder was received by the men in this unit, and how they cheered vociferously when Mr. Browder told them the Communist Party of the United States had recruited 22,000 new members since last September.

Spanish Communists

Thank U. S. Radicals

for Gifts to Troops

On behalf of the hundreds of American Communists serving with

the Lincoln-Washington Battalion of the Spanish Red Army, the Young Communist League of America is thanked for its Christmas gifts to those units in a letter made public in the official Communist newspaper.

The letter was sent by Fred Keller, battalion commissar, and another American Communist member of the battalion. "Battalion commissar" is a Soviet military term used to designate the officer in charge of Communist propaganda and similar activities among officers and men of a particular unit.

Carl Ross, secretary of the Young Communist League, received the letter. Several days ago, at a United States Senate hearing on the American Youth Act, Ross refused to say whether he would bear arms for the United States in case of war against Soviet Russia. Ross's attitude brought a warm retort from United States Senator Lee, of Oklahoma.

"Commissar" Keller wrote to "Comrade" Ross that every Young Communist League member in the Lincoln-Washington Battalion received one of the league's gift packages.

Other significant passages in Keller's letter were:

"Two of our leading Spanish officers have written a testimonial of their thanks for the fine gifts. . . .

"We wish to express our thanks once again to all of our friends in America and let you know that your selection of gifts was particularly well received. It contained many items that are seldom seen here in the Young Communist League of Spain.

"Warmest greetings from the men of the Lincoln-Washington Battalion. Salud y Victoria."

The expression "Salud y Victoria" is a favorite salutation between Communists and other radicals who dominate the present Spanish Red Government.

The Young Communist League also is one of the principal supporters of the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, a radical-controlled organization in the United States which assists Americans fighting with the Spanish Red Army. To date the "Friends" have raised more than \$100,000 in cash, and have sent tons of food, clothing and other supplies to Leftist Spain.





Part III

Christian Social Program



Capitalism in Light of Catholic Social Principles

By CHARLES A. ZENKERT
In "The Echo," January 27, 1938

THERE are few categories in the "dismal science" of political economy concerning which there has been such difference of opinion and such indeterminate controversy as over the proper delimitation of the concept "capital." This confusion of thought becomes all the more distressing in current discussions concerning the merits or demerits of capitalism. In the circumstances, individual Catholic spokesmen have found it expedient to qualify their references to capitalism with various explanatory statements.

In a recent address over the "Catholis Hour" Msgr. Fulton J. Sheen declared that the Catholic Church approved the system of capitalism when the term is meant in the sense "of private ownership of productive wealth for profit," but that the Church condemned capitalism understood as "a society in which a minority controls the means of production and claims 'all the products and profits and leaves to the laborer the barest minimum necessary to repair his strength and to ensure the continuation of his class.'"

The latter is precisely one of the inevitable tendencies of capitalism properly understood. "It is an historic necessity," says a first-rate German economic authority, the well-known Prof. Werner Sombart—"it is an historic necessity that a proletariat be accessible for the capitalistic economic system to unfold itself. The proletariat, i.e., a permanently free propertyless working class that is constrained to place itself into the service of an overlord because otherwise it would lack the means of subsistence—such a proletariat follows capitalism as its very shadow; yes, indeed, one may say that it but represents the reverse side of the capitalistic economic system."

As for the question whether the evils of capitalism are inherent or accidental, Msgr. Sheen was not at his best when he made the following not altogether unambiguous statement:

"Communism says that capitalism is intrinsically wicked. The Church says: 'It is not vicious of its very nature.' It is not intrinsically evil because it admits the right to own private property and to utilize it for the sake of profit. But capitalism may become *accidentally* wicked by abusing these rights and turning them to the selfish ends of their owners. The Church makes a distinction between the *right* of a thing and the *use* of the thing."

Ownership and utilization of private property are not the characteristic features of capitalism; in fact, economic systems that preceded modern capitalism were also based on private property. On the other hand, the capitalistic system has to a large extent nullified the very purpose of private property—and this not accidentally but as an essential prerequisite. The functioning of industrial capital and the maintenance of capitalism presuppose the existence of a class of workers who have been separated from the instruments of production and are divorced from ownership of the means of production, that is to say, an economically dependent class of proletarian wage-earners. As the Rev. Prior McNabb, learned English Dominican, said with reference to a passage in Pope Leo XIII's Encyclical, "this right of property is mortally wounded in a state of things wherein 'a small number of rich men have been able to lay upon the teeming masses of the laboring poor a yoke little better than that of slavery itself.'"

In his stirring after-the-war brochure, "Social Reconstruction," the late Father Heinrich Pesch, S.J., an

acknowledged German Catholic social authority, asserted that "individualistic capitalism is in sharpest conflict with Christian social teachings and ethics," and "that such a capitalistic economic system has become what it is and has continued its shameful course up to the present only by doing violence to Christian morality." "Capitalism and Christianity," Father Pesch added emphatically, "are to each other as fire and water."

Historically, it was the growing violation of the Church's laws against usury and interest-taking that paved the way for modern capitalism, causing money converted into capital to supersede work or human effort as the determinant of economic award, and leading to the gradual elimination of the workers from ownership of the means of production and the creation of a class of permanently dependent wage-earners.

An early exponent of Catholic social thought, Dr. Joseph Edmund Joerg, a contemporary and associate of Bishop Emmanuel von Ketteler, wrote in 1867: "The investment of wealth in non-personal production and the appropriation of the fruits of the toil of others—practising usury with the labor power of the propertyless worker as if with an impersonal thing—that is the essence of modern capital."

A French Catholic social authority, the Rev. A. D. Sertillanges, Dominican scholar and professor of moral theology at the Catholic Institute of Paris, has linked modern capitalism with usurious practices as follows: "If you read the numerous writings which this question (of usury) inspired among Catholic scholars, you will there read a condemnation of capitalism in terms more measured but with arguments more forceful than you will encounter in Socialistic works."

And in our own country the Rev. Walter Drum, S.J., professor of scripture and theology at Woodstock College, Maryland, declared almost 20 years ago:

"There is nothing in the law of nature to defend capitalism. The productive energies that God has given to man are brawn and brain. The productive energy called capital is a fiction of modern times. In the grand ages of faith, the Middle Ages . . . the evil of capitalism was kept down. The Church prohibited usury; she protected the productivity of brawn-power and brain-power; she did not allow the fiction of capital to oust brawn and brain from their divine rights."

In the premises, Catholic spokesmen are ill advised in seeking at this late day, with strained argumentation, to render capitalism compatible with Catholic social teachings. As Father Cuthbert, O.S.F.C., wrote in the *Catholic World* during the after-the-war period: "Catholics, then have little reason to cling to the discredited political and industrial systems whose death knell has been sounded on the battlefields of Europe. For them the one thought at this moment should be to do their part in the upbuilding of a new social order more consonant with their Catholic ideals and principles."

Let us, therefore, put the stress on constructive social action!

What Can High Schools and Colleges Do for Social Justice?

JOHN F. CRONIN, S.S., Ph.D.
*Professor of Economics, St. Mary's
Seminary, Baltimore*

Commencement orators are fond of dwelling on the place to be taken by the youth of today in the social order of tomorrow. To make this aspiration a reality more is required than fervid June oratory. Youth must know the problems it faces and the principles on which to base their solution or its zeal will be transmuted into misguided fanaticism. This knowledge must be realistic even though it be conveyed to young men and women largely innocent of business experience. It is this difficult task which is faced by the Catholic high school and college.

Action follows from principles. Accordingly adequate instruction must precede any form of group activity. Even though the school were to sponsor no direct application of these principles, its trained graduates would each in his own field apply them to the problems of his day.

The subject matter to be studied will naturally be the great social encyclicals of Leo XIII and Pius XI. An entire

year of ordinary religious classes or of study clubs would not be too much to devote to this study. The real difficulty confronting the teacher inexperienced in economic problems is that of grasping the vital realities touched by these great documents and conveying them to immature minds. Since many social justice classes discuss only boring generalities or use every vague discontent as a pretext for condemning Communism, without offering a positive solution for such unrest, it is clear that here method is as important as content.

To conduct an interesting class in social problems or to give intelligent guidance to a study club, the teacher must be well acquainted with economics. If such be not the case the encyclicals become vague and pointless. They were written to guide Catholics in the solution of economic problems and become almost meaningless unless one knows their occasion and purpose.

The untrained teacher need not be dismayed at the prospect of learning economics. Pope Leo XIII gives a hint on method by the very title of his encyclical "On the Condition of Workingmen." Labor economics is interesting, easily learned and still more easily interpreted in the light of Catholic social teaching. Any good textbooks on labor problems, such as Commons-Andrews, or Daugherty, will do. The material can be kept up to date if the teacher will keep a file on labor news, stressing the semi-official reports of the Senate Civil Liberties Committee or the National Labor Relations Board.

Most of the misery which breeds Communism is connected with labor conditions. Low wages, long hours, hazardous conditions of employment, the "speed-up" and the "stretch-out," espionage and intimidation, and unemployment—all these breed resentment in the heart of working men. The partial solution suggested by the encyclicals—i.e., labor organization and legislation—are treated in ample detail in any labor textbook.

The candid student, however, will realize that such problems cannot be solved simply by espousing the cause of justice for the working man. Often the employer feels that he is helpless to correct the evils which lead to poor working conditions. The social order itself must be changed to moderate competition in the wages and hours of labor. Or, again, over-investment in an industry may make it difficult for the employer to pay a decent wage. Here the relation of the ideal social order to problems of prices, trade associations, debt and investment must be studied. Finally, the relations between the worker and other social

groups, namely employers, farmers and professional men, are realized to be of great importance.

When the full implications of the study of labor problems are grasped, a teacher is prepared to undertake the further study needed for their mastery. He can now use the "Social Action" pamphlets and "Toward Social Justice," published by the Paulist Press, *Distributive Justice* and *A Better Economic Order*, and the invaluable 25-cent books published by the National Home Library Foundation of Washington, D. C. *Uncommon Sense*, *Waste*, *Income and Economic Progress*, and *Democracy in Denmark* are about the finest dollar investment in the book world today.

Ninety per cent of his problems are solved when the teacher has a realistic grasp of economic facts. Sharing this wealth is relatively easy. The type, of course, will be dictated by the time at the disposal of the teacher or leader. Interest is best sustained, however, when the problems of labor are used as a starting point. Probing into these questions, the class realize the need of a social order according to Catholic principles, democratically organized throughout, which will attack the difficult questions of competition, prices, conservation of natural resources and expansion of industrial output. The position of the laborer and his employer, the farmer and the consumer, the taxpayer and his government, will then be clearly understood.

The value of such a course will be enhanced considerably if it can be given a practical turn during the school year. A local employer and labor leader could be asked to address the class. Committees could attend a Chamber of Commerce meeting and a National Labor Relations Board hearing. They could listen to labor organizers seeking to penetrate an industry and Communists striving to prey on the desperation of the unemployed. Such direct dealing with Communists is the policy of the Catholic Central High School of Troy, N. Y., and has had most salutary effects. In another diocese the Catholic Radical Alliance goes further and gives active support to labor when its cause has been shown to be just. Such a course can hardly be recommended to inexperienced students, however, unless done under the direction of competent ecclesiastical leadership.

The social encyclicals of the Popes contain the only safe answer to the problem confronting the world today. In giving students a real understanding of these immortal documents, our Catholic schools and colleges will render a unique service to our nation

and our civilization.—*Wisdom*, Oct., 1937.

Catholic Contributions to Social Justice

(DR. GOETZ BRIEFS in *The Echo*, Nov. 25, 1937)

"One of the greatest causes of unrest and instability in the world today has been brought about by the breakdown in the religious beliefs and morality of the people," Dr. Goetz Briefs, of Georgetown University, noted sociologist and political economist, declared in an address at a recent conference of St. Michael's Social Guild of Toronto.

"This restlessness has seized people of all classes and is not confined to the laboring classes," Dr. Briefs said. "While the Catholic Church has no 'ready-made' solution to the problems of today, still the Church can make very important contributions to the solution of the many evils afflicting modern civilization. Our life on earth is not destined to be a paradise.

"In pre-capitalistic times there were present two things which are lacking today. First, the worker had his freedom. Second, the worker usually owned real property. Where the worker lacked this property he lacked freedom. This new idea of granting full citizen rights to propertyless men has been aptly termed the great capitalistic venture. Never before has this been dared. However, today men have been denied the right to own property as never before. One of the direct consequences has been that great social masses are now dependent on shifting labor markets caused partly by large industrial enterprise. In no previous economic system has this been the case. Workers today are also getting rid of the notion that wages are fixed by actual market conditions and the law of supply and demand, so-called.

"Labor leaders are now of the opinion that wages are not the big issue, but rather they are looking for security. Two other causes for unrest have been that the possibility of individuals to rise higher in life, materially, has been drastically curtailed and again that while previously the worker was highly skilled this has now been changed and man has come subservient to a machine. Tremendous loss of human dignity follows. The worker's only interest today is his wages.

"It is up to the Church," continued Dr. Briefs, "to impress upon men that they have values as persons, which seems to have been forgotten by the socio-economic world of today. However, it is not only important to

talk the teachings of the Church. We must approach more and more the middle-class groups. We should build co-operatives and like groups to impress upon men the true community spirit. Despite the vast amount of literature on such a subject as usury, for example, the world today thinks that it is an unimportant term.

"Large groups are today warring for mastery of the State and for the control of government. The vital issue of today is personal self-preservation. Now more than ever before it is the time for the Church to teach on the value of man. The dignity of man must be taught. And, what is more important, it must be acted upon."

Dr. Briefs concluded his talk by referring to the back-to-the-land movements, the co-operative movement, credit unions, and other projects as sound Catholic contributions to the solution of modern problems. He said that co-operation and the credit union movement could only succeed effectively and lastingly when based on a strong religious foundation.

Interracial Review Adopts New Slogan

The Interracial Review, official publication of the Catholic Interracial Council of New York, has adopted the sub-title of "A Journal for Christian Democracy."

Nearly 100 prominent and influential white and colored Catholics belong to the Catholic Interracial Council, the principal purpose of which is to assist the spiritual and material welfare of the American Negro through the application of Catholic principles.

In an editorial called "Christian Democracy," George K. Hunton, the editor, explains the new sub-title was selected because "the pathway to social and interracial justice lies over the solid highway of Christian Democracy."

"In a period when positions in social matters fall sharply into rival classes or schools of thought, the Catholic Interracial Council felt that some indication should be given where their heart was in the conflicting scheme of things," the editorial said. "Casual readers were entitled to tell at a glance whether the approach to the interracial problem lay through the socialistic subordination of the individual to society and the State as its representative; or whether this subordination take a Communist or a Fascistic form; or was through racial and national myths; or whether it was part of the general program of Christian social justice.

"That the last mentioned is our choice is indicated by the selection of Christian Democracy as our slogan.

"Interracial justice is simply the application of the principles of Christian Democracy to a particular set of human relationships. Without interracial justice there can be no true democracy, for without it there can be no adequate recognition of human rights, upon which basis democracy is built.

"Inherent in any application of interracial justice are two great principles which the term democracy emphasizes and recalls. One is equality of opportunity, the loss of which to any one race causes ultimate degradation to all races in the nation. The other is a truly Christian concept of freedom, which means an abhorrence of oppression and undue centralization on the part of governments.

"*The Interracial Review* utterly rejects the delusion that our choice lies between Fascism and Communism. The pathway to social and interracial peace lies over the solid highway of Christian Democracy."

Communism Denounced in Quebec

An unofficial translation of the pastoral letter, which was issued in French, by Most Rev. Georges Gauthier, Coadjutor of Montreal:

On several occasions I have drawn your attention to Communism. New happenings furnish me with an occasion for returning to it; prohibition in our city of Montreal of meetings of the Communist party, and throughout our province of Quebec the seizure by police of the evil literature which it is spreading.

May God be praised! We have been very slow to protect ourselves, but at last public authorities of our province and our city have had the courage to take measures of pressing necessity, and it would be poor grace on our part to hide our satisfaction.

We are assured in an effort to console us that the Royal Canadian Mounted Police are aware of all the Communist movements. Does that suffice, and why is there no action? Our police have already been deprived of an efficacious arm in the suppression of Article 98. Now Communism is prompting numerous societies, which it directs under-handedly, to demand disallowance of our provincial law of which the purpose precisely is to defend us against Communist enterprises. This law must indeed be embarrassing the Communists at a time when 700 or 800 Canadians are returning or are about to return from Spain, where

they went to inform themselves on the best methods of the Red army, to be the shock troops with which our enemies will prepare. Is it not elementary prudence for us to be ready for all eventualities?

Knowing by experience of recent years the brutal and bloody manner in which Communists treat their victims, what is there astonishing in that our young people wish to be on a working basis if some day or another we are tainted by this same misfortune.

I pray you to note this: I am not

at this time making the apology of the National Christian Socialist Party, nor of its propaganda organ, the *Fasciste Canadien*. There are in the program of the party confused doctrines which a Catholic must examine closely before subscribing to them. It is of the nature of German Nazism, with its errors and tendencies, and of which care has been taken to soften the most touchy decrees in order to make them acceptable to Catholics among us. Without it being necessary to insist on this, how could we forget

the manner in which Hitlerian Germany treats our brothers in the Faith? Is there not, on the other hand, in all Fascisms a need of domination which is scarcely favorable to liberty of conscience?

God grant that I may reach in these reflections certain professional men lost in irreligion and anti-clericalism. Their inclinations make possible an anti-Catholic propaganda which comes as a support to that of Communism, for the greatest unhappiness of our province.

Catholic Rural Life

A new study-section of the Sodality has been formed at West Baden College, to deal with the question of Catholic rural life. Father Owen J. Englum, S.J., lectured on the subject to the students upon their return from the summer vacations. We believe our readers will be interested to learn the substance of his talk, which outlines briefly the questions to be studied during the year.—Editor.

THESE are troubled days. People everywhere are in doubt, anxious and uncertain. Many of our traditional pillars in the realms of economics and politics are crumbling. The clash and cries of Fascism and Communism are heard the world over. And here in our own country our learned economists are trying to solve the distress of poverty and bread-lines in the cities, but too few of these economists seem to realize how intimately the economic and social questions of the day are connected with the agricultural problems of the nation.

The history of the farmer-townsmen feud serves to make clear the necessity and the importance of a rural population. On this necessity and importance of a rural population rests the principle of agrarianism. In a broad sense, we can say that herein lies the universal right of private property. From the time of Aristotle and the writers of the Jewish history of the Old Testament, warnings have been issued against the dispossession of the small landowner. Failure to heed these warnings has caused or hastened the ruin of many a prosperous country. Once the small farmers of the Roman republic had lost their farms and homes, even the later agrarian reforms could not save the empire from ruin. This evil of concentrated ownership of land later

spread over all Europe and worked havoc and untold misery everywhere. "This," says Bishop O'Hara, "is not without interest to American students of agriculture who have witnessed the rapid growth of tenantry in the last third of a century in America."

With this in mind it is easy to understand that the Pope's condemnation of concentrated ownership applies at least equally well to land ownership as to industry. This is the reason why nine mid-western Bishops have said in a joint statement, *Agriculture and Catholic Principles*: "We heartily commend the principle advocated for the American farmer by some important agricultural associations; namely, the small holding and individual ownership. . . . We are opposed to the industrialization of American agriculture and to the system of corporate farming. The farm is primarily a place to live and to make a living. The first duty of the farmer is not to produce but to live; and to live in a manner befitting his worth as a man and his dignity as a child of God. There should be in the occupation of the farmer a dignity and independence that are not possible in the collective mass-production enterprises of modern industry."

Furthermore, in these days of the Catholic fight against Communism, it should be evident that the farmer who wants a home and farm of his own certainly believes in private property. But in the muddled confusion of farm foreclosures and financial injustice all around him, is not the farmer as apt to become a prey to Communism as is the exploited worker in industry? The farmer, as well as the rest of the general public, hears on the one hand the condemnation of the traditional capitalistic money system, whilst on the other he hears rich financiers justify-

ing their possessions of millions on the ground of private property. Such a condition of affairs increases the farmer's respect for finance-capitalism no more than it does the exploited laborer's in industry, and naturally if what is taking place is really a necessary development of the system of private property, then he is ready to give ear to the Communists. It is the old story that if good words are used to defend bad causes, the words are debauched; the causes are never improved in the least. For what the finance-capitalist really defends by his good words are the abuses of private property and not the right to private property.

To compass in some way the dangers involved in this issue, a group of theologians at St. Mary's College organized a Rural Life section of the Sodality to study the related problems of land tenancy, land ownership, land colonization, subsistence homesteads, the single family farm, and in general the decentralization of industry through the landward movement. Three years ago they began a thorough study of the two great Catholic sociological encyclicals of 1891 and 1931. They also kept in touch with the work of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference. As a result of their studies there grew up a series of mimeographed pamphlets published by the *Queen's Work*. The titles of these pamphlets are an indication of the character of the work. They deal with private property, credit unions, co-operatives, legislation, education, and the Catholic village. Several members have published articles on related topics, more particularly Father John Rawe, S.J., LL.B., who has written in the *American Review*, and who is an associate editor of the book *Who Owns America?*



Part IV

Documentation



Christ, Color and Communism. By John T. Gillard, S.S.J., Ph.D. The Josephite Press, Baltimore, Md. Bound, 75 cents; paper, 50 cents.

Communism, says Dr. Gillard, editor of the *Colored Harvest*, in his challenging little book, is not so much "boring in" among the American Negroes as it is "permeating" them. Much has been said by comfortable-thinking people to the effect that the American Negro can never adopt Communism, being religious by nature, and averse to dry theories. But the issue is not whether or not the CPUSA succeeds in enrolling large squadrons of professed disciples. Those optimists forget that the American Negro is being gloriously used for Communism's purposes, and that Communist ideology is steadily being built up among their masses. Count the number of Negroes, in the South as well as in the North, who now assume as a commonplace that the Holy Father approved of Italy's actions in Ethiopia, and you will find your count running not into the hundreds alone, but into the hundred thousands. As Dr. Gillard observes:

"The venom of anti-Italian and anti-Christian propaganda did more damage to the Church's work among the Negroes than can be measured. Apart from the fact that numerically the Italians are predominantly a Catholic people, the fact that the Roman Pontiff did not *ex cathedra* meddle in the affair was a signal for an avalanche of vitriolic attacks upon the Church from the Holy Father down to the humblest member who dared even to think that the course pursued by the Head of the Church was the only sensible one open to him. . . . Communism made much of the opportunity presented by the Italo-Ethiopian conflict to implant in the hearts of some of our colored people a bitterness towards the Church which will take many years to overcome."

The Spanish war is now past the stage of being a runner-up on Ethiopia. Milton Herndon, brother of Angelo Herndon, Negro vice president of the League for Communist Youth, dies as a Communist martyr fighting for "Loyalist" Spain. Langston Hughes, Negro American novelist and poet, on his first day in Barcelona hails a young brown-skin from the Canary Islands, and makes enough out of the boy's Spanish dialect to learn that "he did not like Fascism with its crushing of labor unions and the rights of working people like himself." Hughes' glowing pages make fireside reading for thousands of Negro homes in the South, while Northern Negroes are organized by Communist professionals to recover WPA jobs, picket discriminating employers, or produce any kind of mass meeting that will voice popular protest or discontent. The second annual Negro Congress welcomes to Philadelphia on October 19, 4,500 delegates from ultra-conservative ministers to the ubiquitous James W. Ford, Communist candidate for the Vice Presidency, and his stalwarts. Such a sober scholar as President F. D. Patterson of Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, addresses the gathering, but the sober language is ignored in the cry for harangues against war

and Fascism. The Communists are in the saddle, and all who shun their ideology are swept aside.

Father Gillard divides his material into three parts: "The Negro—A Victim. Communism—A Lie. Catholicism—A Solution." In his characteristic direct language he explains why Communism sees in the American Negro a fertile field for propaganda and how it is organized for this purpose; why and how it cannot fulfil its promises; and the wisdom of the Catholic point of view.

The book will doubtless greatly aid in awakening thoughtful Negroes to the danger that lies before them. It should also awaken white Catholics to the realization that the choice of Christ or Communism for the Negro is not up to the Negro alone, but is addressed in a preeminent manner to the white man himself, who is the dominant factor in the Negro's condition in this country today. As Father Gillard says, a "new Negro" has emerged, and the ostrich-like policy of ignoring his existence can only result in bitter disillusionment for all concerned. Catholic Action has here abundant material for meditation.—(From *America*, Nov. 27, 1937.)

JOHN LAFARGE.

Studies. March, 1938.

Professor E. Allison Peers, in a lengthy review of Dr. Carr's monumental life of Bakunin, gives much valuable information concerning the origin of modern Anarchism. The part played by Anarcho-Syndicalism in Spain is not well known in other countries. The C. N. T. and F. A. I., both anarchistic organizations, were among the main bulwarks of the so-called "democratic" régime in Spain. *Studies* for December, 1936, contains a masterly article on "Anarchism and the Spanish Civil War," from the pen of Dr. James Hogan, of University College, Cork.

Foreign Affairs. April, 1938.

Paul Scheffer contributes a very illuminating article entitled "From Lenin to Stalin." The "liquidation" of all those close to Lenin has been merciless. Kamenev, Zinoviev, Bukharin, Rykov, Smirnov and other leading "old Bolsheviks" have faced firing squads. He attributes Stalin's ruthlessness to several causes. Jealousy is one. The present "Red Czar" was often snubbed by Lenin's entourage, chiefly recruited from the "intelligentsia." Stalin also desires to eliminate all possible rivals, and hence "liquidates" men prominent under Lenin. Jealousy and ambition sway Stalin. He is an Oriental, ruthless, subtle, and an adept in the art of "timing his blows." His policy is "very dreadful and very logical."

In the same issue of *Foreign Affairs*, Manya Gordon writes on "Organized Labor Under the Soviets." This article is of great value. "Today the Soviet wage earner has no power whatever." Stalin has established the "Triangle," or three-cornered shop committee, consisting of the factory manager, the secretary of the Communist

cell, and the representative of the trade union. "Now the factory manager exercises absolute power." "Soviet trade unions have no real resemblance to our labor organizations. . . . Soviet unions are merely a form of labor exchange or government employment bureau." Labor is often sweated in Russia. "In the factories of the Machine Trust the employees work from 14 to 16 hours a day . . . without pay for overtime. In the mines of the Don Basin, the six-hour day is nullified. "The night shift works nine and ten hours." "Stakhanovism," which is a piecework and speed-up system, has wiped out the official labor code.

Soviet unions are mere "company unions," whose employer and master is the totalitarian state. The Communist party dominates them, and the O. G. P. U. "liquidates" grumblers. Sanitation is often neglected in factories. The Soviet worker must obey or face destitution, and perhaps imprisonment. Stalin has enslaved the workers, and calls this servile state "the dictatorship of the proletariat."—L. K. P., S.J.

Columbia, April, 1938. Article by Rev. Wilfrid Parsons, S.J., "The Perils of Democracy." In this article, Father Parsons touches on the present state of Left Wing pacifism:

"It has certainly been true that the democracies desire peace in the world. Even when, as is usually the case, they are, the great trading nations, and in fact because they are, they prosper only when they are at peace. Now there is one thing that has been true of our Left Wingers in the past. They were pacifists and they were proud of it. In fact, to some people pacifism and Communism were part of one and the same thing. The Reds did nothing to dispel this notion. There was supposed to be something superior about their preachments because more than all others they wanted peace. It was they who pulled the strings of the League against war and Fascism. It was they who brought into this country the famous Oxford Oath, by which young people swore never to take arms for their country for any cause whatsoever, just or unjust. It was they who fomented the annual peace strikes in the high schools and colleges.

"What has happened to their pacifism? All gone. They are the war party now in every country where they exist. A year ago it was claimed that 300,000 students supported the Oath. Last Christmas, at the annual meeting at Vassar College of the National Students Union, which was supposed to represent the same 300,000 young people, the leaders told them that the Oxford Oath was now all wrong, and had them repudiate it. What they talked about now was war, and they glorified as heroes the thousands of foreigners fighting against Franco in Spain. They want us now to go to war against Italy and Germany and Japan. It is the duty, they say, of the democracies. Of course, if in performing that duty we also incidentally saved Russia and Communism from being crushed by those Powers, they would not object particularly.

"That is what has changed our Left-wing pacifists into raging warmongers. When it looked as if England and France and the United States might some day unite again to drive Communism out of Russia and the world, they preached pacifism to us, and disarmament and all the rest of it, and made villains of the munitions manufacturers. But now when it looks as if these same countries are enemies of Fascism and might clash with it, why disarmament is all wrong, war is glorious, and the munitions makers the saviors of humanity. A startling picture, what? A Du Pont marching down the road and a Red on each side of him, arms entwined in amity.

"The fact of the matter is that the principal interest of the Communists and their sympathizers is now the organization of public opinion to preserve Stalin in power and

to forward the imperialistic yearnings of the Russian regime. The original simon-pure Communists are called Trotskyists, and if they remained in Russia they are now all dead. Russia is resuming the place it once had as a pre-war military Power, and it is seeking with the help of Great Britain and France to expand its influence in Eastern Europe and Western Asia. That is where we come in. We are to come to the rescue once again of all democracies, including Russia.

"It is a blundering sort of policy. In a new World War Germany would have Italy on her side this time and also Japan, where before they were on ours. We would be occupied in the Pacific much more than in the Atlantic, and could give precious little help with our Navy to France and England. England, at least, sees this, and that is why she is ready to suffer any humiliation from Italy and Germany rather than be made the cat's paw of this stupid Russian internationalism. As usual, however, the wool is being pulled over our eyes. Our newspaper and magazine editors seem to have pretty nearly all fallen for the notion that democracy is once again at stake in Russia's quarrels."

Assignment in Utopia. Eugene Lyons. Published by Harcourt, Brace & Co.

This book continues to attract the wide attention which it richly deserves. Lyons went to Russia filled with enthusiasm. He regarded the Soviet experiment as the hope of humanity. Hard experience shook and destroyed this illusion. The book depicts the cruelty and incompetence which mark the Stalin régime. Soviet Russia is "the grandest fraud in history." Lyons retains his faith in Socialism, but he regards Stalinism as a cruel and hypocritical tyranny. This book is invaluable. The style, while not elegant, is always lucid and forceful.—L. K. P., S.J.

L' Ami du Clerge. February 3, 1938.

"Le mystère russe." A lengthy and fully documented article on Stalin and his régime. It contains interesting data on the persecution of religion in Russia, and its deep-rooted vitality despite Bolshevik throttling and terrorism. Russo-Japanese relations are carefully analyzed.

There is also an interesting article on the recent book of Dr. Marañón, "En Marge de la Guerre Civile Espagnole." Dr. Marañón, the eminent biologist, is a refugee in Paris. He remains "an impenitent Liberal." But he reveals with frankness the efforts of Communists and Syndicalists to plunge Spain into social upheaval. With reluctance Dr. Marañón now adheres to Franco.—L. K. P., S.J.

American or Communist. By William Smith, S.J. Published by the International Catholic Truth Society, 407 Bergen Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

American or Communist? You can't be both. What are you going to do about it? Communists are linked definitely and undeniably to a world organization whose centre is Russia and whose chief is Stalin. They are not Americans for they foster a doctrine that is determined to destroy by force American Democracy. Let Mr. Stalin himself spout soft and honeyed phrases with the hope of deceiving an already duped world-audience. The cold logic of facts condemn them. (Five cents the copy.)

Events. March, 1938.

Charles A. Beard contributes an article entitled "Shooting It Out in Russia." It is an appraisal of Stalin's purge written by an eminent American historian of rather advanced views.